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The Outlook

January 23, 1924

President Wilson's Action Vindicated

ONE of the wisest acts of President Wilson was the disposal of German patents and copyrights and trade-marks, seized as enemy property during the war, to the Chemical Foundation for use in the public interest.

One of the most inexplicable actions and one of the least defensible of the Republican Administration that has intervened has been the attempt to nullify this action of the Wilson Administration and to destroy its public benefits.

A suit was instituted by the United States Government to recover these patents from the Chemical Foundation. It was carried on at Wilmington, Delaware, and an enormous amount of testimony was taken. The United States District Court of the District of Delaware has now rendered its decision, and it is adverse to the present Government's contention. In the opinion delivered by Judge Hugh M. Morris, not only is the legality of President Wilson's action sustained, but the course of the present Department of Justice is at least by implication rebuked. On every point the Government's contention is defeated. What is humiliating is that it appears that Attorney-General Daugherty, or whoever else is responsible for the conduct of this case, brought charges of deception and conspiracy which not only "failed utterly" but were offered without any evidence.

If the Government's suit had succeeded, the processes for making such things as poison gas and dyes and medicines which were controlled through American patents by German interests to the paralysis of the United States Government upon entering war with Germany would undoubtedly have gone back into German hands. As it is, those processes are now controlled by a corporation organized to make those processes available to American industry, without prejudice against or in favor of any special interest, and to the Government itself.

We hope that President Coolidge will order the abandonment of any attempt to carry this case to the United States Supreme Court on appeal.

The Democrats Have Got It. What Are They Going to Do with It?

THE Senate deadlock over the Chairmanship of the Committee on Inter-State Commerce was broken by a Democratic-Progressive coalition, resulting in the election of Mr. Smith, of South Carolina, the ranking Democrat on the Committee. This was a defeat for the Republicans in that they were unable to dominate the situation by the election of Mr. Cummins, of Iowa, but it was not a clean-cut victory for either party to the coalition. By it the Progressives are not appreciably nearer to securing the radical railway legislation they desire than if Mr. Cummins had been elected, and the Democrats assume a responsibility that they would gladly have left on the shoulders of the Republicans.

The incident has, however, its measure of significance. If Mr. Cummins had remained Chairman, the Transportation Law would have continued through this session of Congress unchanged. Under the new arrangement amendments are probable, but they will not be of the sweeping nature demanded by the La Follette group. Senator Cummins was the father of the present law. Senator Smith was one of its strongest opponents. It is now within his power, perhaps, to see that amendatory bills are reported out of the Committee promptly. He will be in charge of such bills on the floor of the Senate and, if the coalition holds, can secure their passage.

Beyond that point the coalition victory may mean much or nothing. It has demonstrated the fact that certain members of the Progressive group prefer

(C) Underwood

Senator Ellison D. Smith, Democrat, of South Carolina, Elected Chairman of the Inter-State Commerce Committee by a Republican Senate

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joining forces with the Democrats to being whipped into line with the regular Republicans. If they maintain that attitude consistently, they can defeat the Administration programme, including the Mellon plan for tax reduction. It does not necessarily follow, however, that the lines as they were formed to defeat Cummins will hold in other contests. Even if the four Republican Progressives and the two Farmer-Labor Senators who voted with the Democrats remain steadfast in that alliance, enough Democrats will probably fall out of line from time to time to give the Republicans a majority vote on some, at least, of the measures they most desire to pass. The situation is simply rendered uncertain, and that might have been guessed—was guessed in fact—long before Congress met.

Recapturing Excess Railway Profits

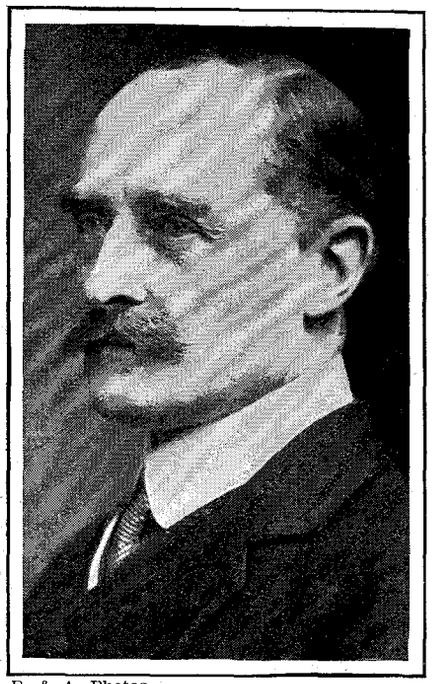
A DECISION has just been rendered by the United States Supreme Court which adds new buttresses to the authority of the Federal Government over inter-State commerce, and that means over the railways. The structure of that authority has been building through many years. Into it have gone other Supreme Court decisions, and of them all this latest decision is not the least important.

It establishes the constitutionality of the so-called "recapture" paragraphs of the Transportation Act of 1920, known as the Esch-Cummins Law. According to these paragraphs, all money in excess of a fair return upon the property of a railway shall be held by the railway as a trustee for the United States. Half of that excess goes to a reserve fund for the payment of interest on bonds under certain circumstances, and under other circumstances for any lawful purpose; but the other half is to go into a "general railroad revolving fund" administered by the Inter-State Commerce Commission in making loans to railways that need the money to meet expenses on capital account, and the like.

A railway in Texas, known as the Dayton-Goose Creek Railway Company, complained that these provisions were unconstitutional, and some of the greatest railway companies in the country appeared in the case as *amici curiae* in support of this railway company's appeal from the District Court to the United States Supreme Court.

The opinion delivered by Chief Justice Taft establishes certain principles which will undoubtedly find further expression in legislation. It makes clear that Congress not only has a right to exercise control by restraint but can legislate with the purpose "affirmatively to build up a system of railways," to "foster" inter-State commerce, and "promote its growth and insure its safety."

To do this the Court declared that Congress may make use of the profits of any railway in excess of what is a fair return upon its property. The taking of this excess, the Court says, is not appropriation of the railway's property, for it never becomes the railway's property at all. This excess is the product of rates which the Government permits the railways to charge under the very condition that the excess on a reasonable return shall be used as the Government directs. The railway has no Constitutional right to any return in excess of what is reasonable. As far as the shipper is concerned, rates which are necessary to enable all the railways of a rate territory or section to do business are reasonable. Therefore the recapture paragraphs which provide such rates and yet allow the excess profits to be used in part to build up the weaker roads are Constitutional. There is nothing unconstitutional in the appropriation of this excess, since the Government "takes away nothing which equitably belongs either to the shipper or to the carrier."



P. & A. Photos

Sir Esme Howard, British Ambassador to the United States, succeeding Sir Auckland Geddes

And in exercising this right Congress has control over the products of intra-State rates, for "Congress is dealing with a unit in which State and inter-State operations are often inextricably commingled."

The highways of the Nation have become, under laws and Supreme Court decisions, increasingly under the control of the people of the Nation. The greater the control, the greater the responsibility. In railway legislation Congress, acting for the people, needs, therefore, to exercise all its collective wisdom.

Sir Esme and Sir Auckland Hail and Farewell

A LAPSE of eyesight has brought to an end the eventful Ambassadorship at Washington of Sir Auckland Geddes, who has weathered a severe Irish storm, helped to dispose of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, and negotiated—for on him fell the brunt of it—the funding of the British debt. In the appointment of his successor we may discern a fine Curzonian gesture. To the hierarchy of what Henry Labouchère in his playful way called the mandarins of the Foreign Office, Geddes, like Bryce, was an intruder. An embassy required, in a Foreign Office view, a diplomat who had been caught young and trained afterwards. Marquis Curzon, apostle of the old school, determined that no more "professors" should be sent to Connecticut Avenue; so Sir Esme Howard, Ambassador to Spain, was selected.

The appointment had to be made with speed. The Conservatives were threatened with that abomination of desolation called a Labor Government. A man who during the war was considered a pro-German would be Prime Minister, and Heaven only knew whom he might send to Washington to represent King George, and, incidentally, a nation that includes a good many Curzons! It might be Viscount Haldane, or Comrade Kirkwood, or even that outliner and upsetter of history, H. G. Wells. Happily, a Conservative Government, though no longer in power, was still in office. Parliament would not meet for a week or two. Sir Auckland Geddes was induced tactfully to resign, and the name of his successor was immediately announced. For Downing Street, here was quick work.

In the United States Ambassadors

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We Are Politicians

(Twelfth Night, Act II, Scene 3)

Knott in the Dallas News

Being Remembered by the Folks at Home

Reynolds in the Portland Morning Oregonian

Here's Hoping He Saves the Mutton

From E. F. O'Regan, Portland, Oregon

Cassel in the New York Evening World

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They Don't Mix

From Dora Albert, New York City

Kirby in the New York World

On Papa's Knee

From Marguerite Rockwell, Baltimore, Md.

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must have the approval of the Senate; but in Great Britain their names do not have to be submitted to Parliament—only to the King, who thinks many times before questioning the advice of his Ministers. Sir Esme Howard's appointment, therefore, cannot be challenged. The British do not change their Ambassadors with the change of Government. In its foreign affairs Labor has thus to work everywhere through envoys whose personal sympathies are assuredly far removed from Socialism. The recall of Sir Esme Howard, if seriously contemplated, would have to be based on just grounds of complaint and would arouse acute debate in a Parliament where already Labor will have its hands full.

Even Labor, after all, must realize that Sir Esme Howard has steadily served his country well. It is true that he is related to the High Tory family of the Duke of Norfolk, but with this difference, that he hails from Greystoke Castle, Cumberland, where for generations the Howards have been Liberal and Protestant. It was as a Gladstonian Liberal and Home Ruler, therefore, that in 1892 Howard stood unsuccessfully for Parliament; and it was to Lord Kimberley, a Liberal Foreign Minister, that at the Foreign Office he served as private secretary. From the Foreign Office he was sent abroad, never knowing one year where he would find himself the next, and holding positions in Washington, Berlin, Budapest, Berne, Stockholm (where he succeeded Cecil Spring-Rice, British Ambassador to the United States, as Minister), and finally Madrid, where he, in his turn, attained the rank of Ambassador. Through this varied experience Sir Esme Howard has played a faultless game.

In 1898 he married, and with romance. Lady Isabella Howard is a Roman Catholic, whose faith has been adopted by her husband. She is also to her fingertips a Jacobite! Her family was either executed with the Stuarts or exiled; and the remnant became in Rome an ornament of Roman aristocracy, her brother being at once the Earl of Newburgh in the British peerage, Prince Guistiniani-Bandini at the Papal Court, and Duke of Montdragon in the Kingdom of Naples. This mother of five sons has thus dramatic memories within her.

Sir Esme Howard brings the old manner to bear on the new democracy. On that account, like Balfour, he may be liked all the better. It will be his aim to be correct rather than imaginative. And in Canada, undoubtedly, he will have to win the confidence of a Dominion that hankers after her own Envoy at Washington, and is inclined to criticise "Whitehall."

Dawes Takes Hold

General C. G. Dawes has been an eloquent speaker because his forcible words have been backed by deeds. He evidently believes that eloquent is as eloquent does. He acted as if he believed than when he was Director of the Budget in America; he is acting as if he believed that now that he is head of the committee to find how Germany's currency can be stabilized and her budget balanced.

As chairman of that committee now sitting in Paris, he made a speech on January 14 which ought to be preserved as a model of oratory. The strong language which the newspaper reporters have led the public to expect of him was lacking, and its absence made the speech itself the stronger. He pointed out the interest for unity of action among those who had been allied in the war. Such unity was recognized at the outset of the fighting, but it was not translated into unity of command until the British army was pushed towards the Channel ports and the French toward Paris and a gap was opened between. When the public mind and conscience of the Allies and of the world adequately can see the great disaster that faces Europe, General Dawes believes that unity will come and "common sense will be crowned king."

His tribute to France and Great Britain during the war was effective by its transparent honesty. In his speech there was no sense of the orator's enjoying his own emotional thrills. He was evidently not thinking of himself, but the task ahead into which he was plunged. He dismissed with the contempt they deserve the guesses and estimates which economists brought with them out of the fog. He expressed his own sense of shame at the "outpourings of the American nationalistic demagogues who undertake to lecture Europe." He picturesquely explained the impossibility of now determining what reparations Germany may be able to pay ultimately by this figure of speech:

> Any common-sense individual can estimate the distance a well man can run, but fifty medical experts gathered round the bedside of a dying patient will give fifty different estimates of how far he can run if he gets well. The Reparations Commission and the world, regarding the question of Germany's capacity to pay, thus far have been listening to medical experts. Let us first help Germany get well.

He set forth the first task of this committee as finding a way to getting Germany a stable currency, for, as he put it, you cannot build a budget mill until you get water to run it with.

Two Important Advances in the Automobile Industry

An unobstructed four-acre floor was required to display the immense collection of motor cars at the annual Automobile Show held early this month in the armory of the 258th Field Artillery at New York. In order to see the exhibit of every manufacturer the reporter, carrying a pedometer, was forced to cover a distance of nearly three miles.

Among impressions carried away were those of the magnitude of the modern motor industry, the intensity with which competition is carried on within it, and especially the fact that to-day nearly all Americans know something about automotive machinery and can speak the language of motordom. "Helical gear drive," "continuous torque," and "firing order" are terms whose comprehension is no longer confined to the automotive engineer and automobile repairman. Men and women, young and old, were seen in dozens of places gathered in little knots around cars whose chassis had been stripped and cross-sectioned, exposing their deepest mechanical mysteries; while the questions asked and the comments made indicate that nearly everybody wants to know, not merely that the car runs, but just why it runs.

From time to time in the history of the motor industry there have been striking and comparatively rapid changes affecting practically the entire output. One of these was the self-starter, which, adding greatly to the ease of using a car, put behind steering wheels millions of women who had never before enjoyed driving because of the "cranking" difficulty. This year another such corner has been turned, as an inspection of the hundreds of cars at the Automobile Show made strikingly apparent. The four-wheel brake and the balloon tire have apparently arrived, and are destined to effect great changes on the future of the motor car. Of these the latter will probably have a greater influence than the former.

Every one who has ridden in a car whose tires were under-inflated knows how much more comfortable the going was. As tires have always been

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constructed, with thick walls to withstand high pressures, under-inflation was extremely destructive to the walls, for in this condition they get about two thousand flexions in each mile of travel. These flexions soon separate the "plies" of which they are built up. The problem of securing the comfort tire, then, was that of perfecting a tire of about double the ordinary cross-section but with walls so thin that they would not suffer when repeatedly flexed. This solution was favored by the fact that the balloon tire carries less than half of the air pressure ordinarily used. With the new tire road obstructions which reach us in the form of "bumps" are swallowed up in the soft, mushy air-cushion and we get the impression of floating through space. At the Automobile Show a large number of the 1924 models were equipped with balloon tires, requiring in many cases a redesign of axles and fenders, and it is believed by automotive engineers that they will bring about a great change in car operation, performance, and endurance. They minimize vibration, which shakes the car to pieces; greatly reduce the danger of skidding; increase braking power; make driving more comfortable because one does not have to study the road ahead for a perfectly level track; and, it is claimed, are far safer in case of blowout than the ordinary tire.

The four-wheel brakes appear on a number of new cars and have excellent qualities if excellently designed and built. But they cannot be made cheap and at the same time safe. They add greatly to mechanical complication, increase first cost and repair cost, and add to car weight. In some automotive engineering circles it is believed that four-wheel brakes will prove to be a permanently valuable addition only to the high-priced cars.

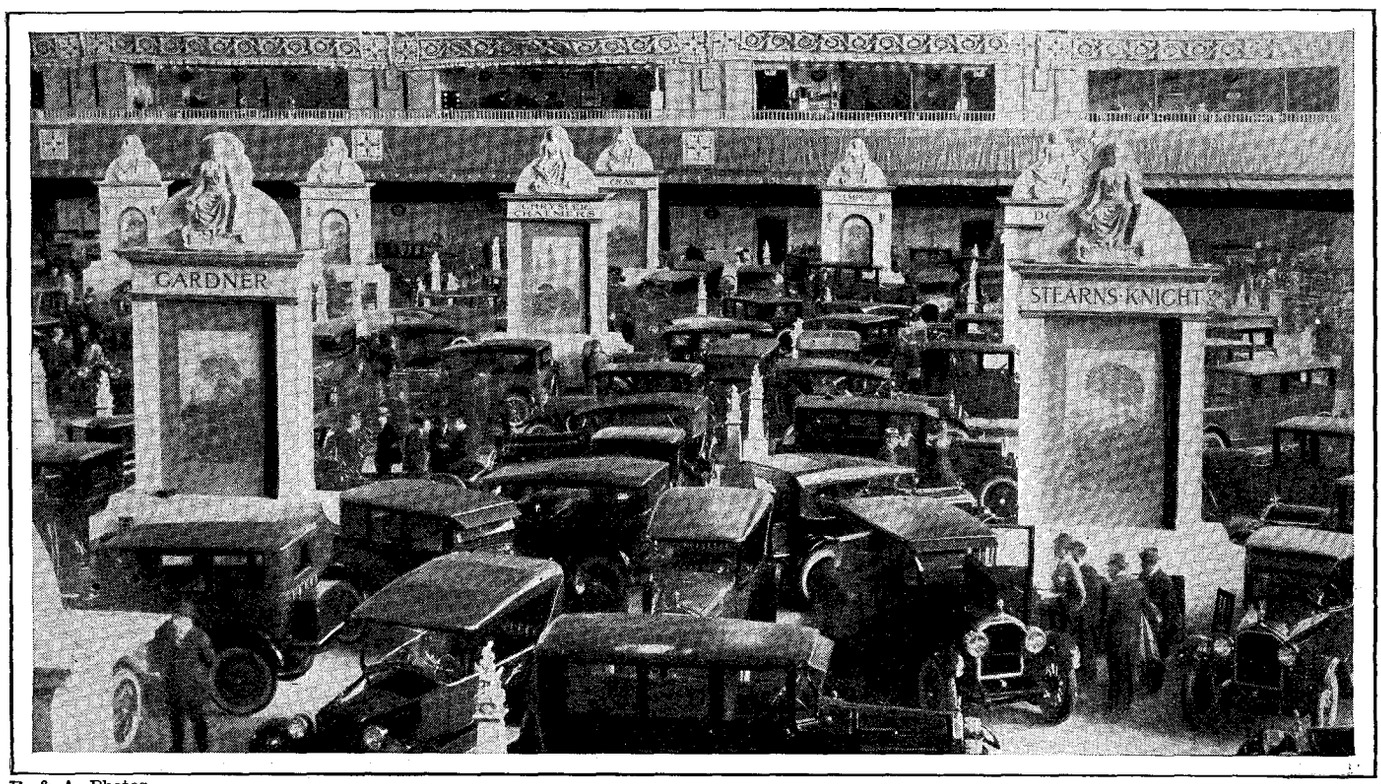
"N.G.C. 6822," a New Universe

THE growth in the known size of the universe which began when Galileo devised his small, low-powered telescope has just received another startling increment at the hands of the astronomers of the Harvard Observatory.

This time a new and distinct universe has been found, and its great distance adds a matter of 700,000 light-years, or about four quintillions of miles, to the greatest known distance to anything in existence. Man still continues to diminish in relation to the general plan of things. The new universe is so far away that the rays of light which reach us after traveling through empty space at a rate that would carry them twelve times around the earth in one second have been journeying from the newly discovered universe to the photographic plate of the Mount Wilson telescope ever since the earliest known type of man, the ape-man of Java, began evolving from his altogether simian ancestor, nearly a million years ago. One cannot grasp its significance, even dimly.

Stars have names, but so far astronomers have had to do without names for universes. "N.G.C. 6822" has been known for many years, but pictures of it made by the 100-inch reflecting telescope at Mount Wilson, California, Observatory, have now resolved it into a complete universe of suns, like our own stellar universe of suns or "stars." Whether there are also planets or "worlds" cannot be said, because at these immense distances they would not be visible. In fact, "N.G.C. 6822" itself is wholly invisible to the naked eye. It lies in the constellation known as Sagittarius, the Archer, which is itself too close to the sun at this time of year to be visible.

Visible from the Southern Hemisphere are the Magellanic Clouds, which are now known to be stellar systems wholly separate from our own and from the Milky Way. In apparent magnitude "N.G.C. 6822" is very much smaller than the Magellanic Clouds, but the great difference in size is only apparent, for it is vastly farther away. In other respects it is similar. It is a universe, distinct and isolated in space by distances which, when compared with those between the earth and other objects in our own universe, such, for instance, as the distance to the nearest fixed star (some 200,000 times as far as from the sun to the earth), are even then almost incompara-



P. & A. Photos

A section of the Automobile Show in New York City, in which 500 cars of 74 different makes were exhibited under the auspices of the National Automobile Chamber of Commerce

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ble. The mind reels. It has been said that nothing so greatly influences to a belief in religion as the study of astronomy.

Diagnosing Health by Weight

Some readers may remember that in The Outlook of March 15, 1922, there was published a severe attack on the very common belief that slenderness means malnutrition. It was stated that one's type of build is a matter of heredity very largely, and that many children are therefore properly and healthily slender. It was argued, therefore, that it is unscientific and unfair to declare a child "underweight" merely because he is slender. It was also argued that the only safe method of diagnosis comes through a medical examination, and that every child should receive one, no matter whether slender or stocky or of other intermediate type of build. As a result came nearly a thousand letters, overwhelmingly in approval.

The "Journal" of the American Medical Association for January, 1924, publishes a very interesting article entitled "The Use and Abuse of Weight-Height-Age Tables as Indexes of Health and Nutrition," by Bird T. Baldwin, Ph.D. The title is encouraging, but one finds that the principle "abuse" mentioned centers around the instruments used for measuring, the methods of measuring, and the recording and interpreting of data. The real abuse lies in considering weight as an index of health. It is a fundamental objection. Weight cannot be considered a safe index when it is certain that there are many normal types of build, ranging from slender to stocky, types that may be hereditary in a narrow family group, or even racial in character. Slender children do not necessarily have malnutrition, nor do children of average weight prove to be free from this ill.

Public Health Report Number 2, Volume 38, issued by the United States Public Health Service, makes this point emphatically clear. In all, nearly 10,000 children were given a *medical* examination. This striking fact was found: Nearly half—forty per cent, in brief—of children actually suffering from malnutrition were, by weight, in the "average" group. That is, if the slender children alone were cared for, forty per cent of the children actually having malnutrition would be neglected!

Finally, to quote the report:

> The classification of children according to nutrition by weight alone would therefore class as undernourished some children who would be judged as well nourished as the result of a physical examination. It would also fail to detect some children who are poorly nourished but who weigh as much as the average. . . . The fact that an individual child weighs less or more than the average is not conclusive proof that he is undernourished or overnourished; he may weigh less and yet be well nourished, and he may weigh more than the average and yet be poorly nourished.

From the many reports that have reached us, it seems certain that insisting that only children of about average weight are healthy has done a great deal to discredit the extremely important and valuable interest in the better nutrition of school-children.

When a Vote is Not a Vote

On every side the American citizen is now under the bombardment of appeals to vote on the Bok Prize Peace Award. Ballots are printed in the daily press of the cities and in the weekly press of the country districts. From nearly every organization to which a man belongs he is likely to receive a ballot with a copy of the plan and an appeal to vote. At first sight it seems as if there had never been in any election such an inclusive and conclusive referendum. In fact, it is neither conclusive nor inclusive, but delusive.

Popular government depends upon the effectiveness and the purity of the ballot.

Unless the ballot is effective it is not a true ballot. When voters go to the polls, they do not express an opinion; they record a decision. Only as their will, as determined by the majority, is carried out is the vote of any use at all. To be significant a vote must be cast by people who believe in its effectiveness. The vote in the Bok contest totally lacks this necessary qualification of a true referendum. Few believe that the vote will have or can have any effect whatever. If the ballot provided an opportunity for the recipient to express approval of alternative plans, the test would be less misleading; but as it is, those who are indifferent to the plan or disagree with it are likely not to vote against it, but to throw their ballots into the waste-basket. The result of the vote will therefore not be a true record of public sentiment, and cannot be. It lacks the necessary qualification of effectiveness.

And it lacks assurance of its purity, its freedom from corruption and intimidation. Among the battles for free government, none have been more necessary than those for the safeguarding of the suffrage. Around the ballot has been placed the protection of secrecy in order to free the voter as much as possible from intimidation and the play of prejudice. Ballot-boxes are locked and sealed. Strict requirements are laid down by the law for the recording and the counting of the votes. Those who have the right to vote are registered and provisions are made to prevent any voter from voting more than once. No such safeguards surround the vote on the Bok Award. There are no watchers at the polls, no methods for public checking up the records, no insurance against repeaters, no protection against the misuse of the voters' names. It is not necessary to impute any dishonest purpose to those who conduct this informal vote to see that they have not, and could not have, made provision against the dangers which vitiate it as a measure of public opinion.

The result of the Bok vote will be of interest to many people; but it is not, and cannot be, a substitute for a properly safeguarded and truly effective public election.

This Fine-Pretty World

American theater-goers have always been partial to dreamy-eyed rapscallions and kindly ne'er-do-wells. There was for a long time on the American stage Rip Van Winkle of beloved memory. There was Bill Jones of "Lightnin'." And now comes from the mountains of Kentucky a new figure at the behest of Percy MacKaye. More poetic than Rip Van Winkle or Bill Jones and deeper sunk in iniquity than either is Beem Sprattling of "This Fine-Pretty World," now playing at the Neighborhood Playhouse in New York City.

It seems to us that this is undoubtedly the best of Mr. MacKaye's work. In the remarkable vividness of its dialogue, in its conception of character, and in its dramatic movement it leaves little to be desired. It is not confused with extraneous symbolism. Its approach is direct and its presentation of a strange life convincing. Mr. MacKaye has been content to let his characters speak for themselves.

Whoever has joined the constantly

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Percy MacKaye on a hunt for material for his Kentucky Mountain dramas

increasing number of those who read plays and stage them in their imagination will find in "This Fine-Pretty World" a particularly worth-while piece of dramatic reading.

The difficulty of the mountain dialect, which seems to trouble some who see the play on the stage, does not trouble the reader in the least. The reader's eye has plenty of time to delight in the freshness of the comparisons and the colorful figures of speech. The play gives high promise of other mountain dramas to follow from Percy MacKaye's pen. We hope that he will not lose sight of the dramatic values in his laudable desire to conserve the vanishing poetry of those who have been called our contemporary ancestors. We have a very firmly founded opinion that in the theatrical world, Purposes, with a large "P," should be confined to prefaces. That is where the purpose of "This Fine-Pretty World" is put, and that is where it belongs.

British Labor's Pioneers

WHILE the formation of a British Labor Cabinet will be, on the face of it, a startling innovation, it will illustrate once more the national tradition of development by gradual process rather than by revolutionary change. England, we are again reminded, is a country where not only freedom, but the opportunity of power, broadens slowly down from precedent to precedent. It will be quite a new thing of course for Great Britain to be governed by a Cabinet which represents a Labor Party and includes several members of the working class, but the way has been gradually prepared for this notable variation from political usage.

The first step on the road was virtually taken several decades ago, when John Bright received office in one of Gladstone's Cabinets. The admission of a manufacturer, without the *cachet* of a "public school" and university education, was a distinct departure from custom, and marked the first breach of the theory hitherto accepted regarding the proper composition of a Ministry. What had been the preserve of the so-called governing class ceased to be thus limited when the Rochdale cotton-spinner became a Minister of the Crown. A curious passage in the letters of Earl Granville shows with what an air of amused detachment that scion of the Whig aristocracy looked upon his unfashionable colleague when they went together to the Palace to be sworn in. Granville seems to have watched Bright's behavior with very much the same kind of interest as that of an explorer observing the ways of a newly discovered variety of fauna.

When trade, in the person of John Bright, had once gained access to the favored circle, the inclusion of other representatives of the business world followed as a matter of course. Not many years later a prominent position in a Conservative Ministry came to be held by W. H. Smith, the proprietor of a chain of news-stands at the railway stations. But it was not until 1905 that the first workingman became a Cabinet Minister. In that year John Burns—a politician still living, though no longer in Parliament—was appointed President of the Local Government Board. He had started his career as a wage-earner in a candle factory at the age of ten. He then became a rivet boy in an engineer's workshop, and, after serving his apprenticeship, worked for many years as an engineer, both at home and abroad. His first impulse toward study came from a copy of Adam Smith's "Wealth of Nations," turned up by a workman's spade in the digging of a trench which he was superintending as foreman of some engineering works in the delta of the Niger.

John Burns was elected to Parliament in 1892, when as yet there was no Labor Party in existence. He was counted as an "Independent Labor" member, but in matters of general politics he usually voted with the Liberals, and it was as a Liberal that he joined the Campbell-Bannerman administration in December, 1905. His appointment was the occasion of one of his happiest repartees. At a meeting of his Battersea constituents he was heckled by a disgruntled Socialist, who asked him whether he intended to accept a salary of £2,000 a year. "Yes," was the reply; "it is the trade-union rate of pay for Cabinet Ministers. Not being a blackleg like you, I could not accept less."

The inclusion of a workingman in the

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Cabinet was one of the surprises of the Campbell-Bannerman régime, but it received popular approval. It was thence an easy tradition, when the emergency of the war led to the formation of a Coalition Government, to the admission of Arthur Henderson and a few others who were not only workingmen but representatives of a Labor Party which by this time had gained a title to recognition as one of the political forces of the country. The next stage in the process will be marked by the swearing-in of J. Ramsay MacDonald and his colleagues, when the administration as a whole will come under Labor control.

"Adjusted Compensation"

IN increasing numbers ex-service men are beginning to realize that almost all of the pro-bonus arguments frankly put a price on patriotism. They place National service in a war emergency on the same basis as a bread-and-butter job. This is a serious affront to any real American.

If anything, the term "adjusted compensation," which the bonus advocates use as a kind of camouflage to make the dole sound like something else, almost adds injury to insult. It infers that if about $1.25 were added to the army pay of $1 a day the total, $2.25, would be a fair and adequate payment for National service in a war in which many risked and many lost their lives! Furthermore, it seems, this ideal $2.25 has the added distinction of being a reasonable valuation of a man's probable earnings in a bread-and-butter job. Therefore, goes the argument, the additional $1.25 would give each man what he deserves, the difference between the earnings of soldiers and civilians being thus, happily, "adjusted."

But the tide is turning. Many are thinking over the matter, and are beginning to feel that there can be no such adjustment. First, because there is nothing in common between army service in a war and a bread-and-butter job. There is no possible comparison. And, secondly, because no right-hearted real American would take any possible sum as a fair equivalent for the honor he felt in being permitted to serve his country.

A Little Puzzle for Congressmen Algebraically Inclined

x = amount of Mellon tax reduction.

y = amount of bonus.

Present tax $- x =$ tax saving.

Present tax $- x + y =$ tax saving $+ y$.

Puzzle.—Show the people how y can be added to one side of the above equation without adding it to the other.

London and Moscow

By ELBERT FRANCIS BALDWIN

Editorial Correspondent of The Outlook in Europe

IT appears that England is going to have a Labor Cabinet.

Suppose it should be reversed within twenty-four hours after it takes office. What could it accomplish during that short tenure? Let the able Labor-Socialist weekly, the "New Leader," reply:

> Russia we could recognize within twenty-four hours of our assumption of office. . . . A cablegram would suffice to stop the construction of the Singapore dock. . . . Dare we next make Egypt truly independent by withdrawing the British garrison from Cairo? What if we were to give Greek Cyprus to the Greek motherland, or offer to discuss the demilitarization of the Black Sea? When we had relaxed our hold on the oil-wells of Mosul, we might . . . without hypocrisy organize at a conference moral pressure against French militarism. . . .

One stops to catch breath!

I took the clipping to an authority I know and asked him whether a new Cabinet could do all this without consulting Parliament. He replied:

"It could, though there is a tendency of late, as in the case of Egypt, to submit specially important issues to Parliament."

The first item in the "New Leader" list is the most interesting—the recognition of the Bolshevist Government. It might be recognized by any European Government with less surprise than by the English. My informant then disclosed the strength behind the movement here for recognition.

"The decision really rests with two men, the Foreign Secretary and the King. They know perfectly well that Labor is a unit for recognition, that most Liberals want it, and even some Conservatives. From the first, the Labor-Socialists showed sympathy with the Bolshevist Government, if for no other reason than that it is a product of social revolution. Of course our extreme Socialists showed very great sympathy because they hold extreme doctrines not accepted by the conservative Socialists. To sum up, recognition of the Soviet Government has been one of the first points in the Labor-Socialist party's programme; it is pledged to accomplish it at its earliest opportunity.

"As to the Liberals, most of them followed Lloyd George's lead two years ago in attempting to woo the Bolsheviks. It would seem as if the Liberals were not too seriously disturbed by Soviet doctrines; perhaps it was because there seemed signs of their gradual abandonment. What the hard-headed Liberals were really thinking of was the 'loaves and fishes.' They wanted, as we all want, our pre-war markets back, especially that market which used to furnish us food, the Russian—and four-fifths of our food supplies, you know, must come from outside. Next to grain, in order of value, from Russia comes timber, and I hear to-day of Russian timber, despite all difficulties, being unloaded down the Thames at Tilbury. Then come from Russia flax, eggs, butter, hides, petroleum, and platinum. We need them all.

"In return, Russia needs what we export—coal and coke, metal machinery and manufactures, woolen yarns and manufactures, shipping services. You see, it is a clear case of exchange benefiting both countries."

The bait is tempting. So in 1921 Lloyd George negotiated a trade treaty, designed to help British commerce and unemployment. It has been notoriously

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ineffective. Despite it, the prejudice obtains that it would have been effective had there been recognition of the Government. So this nation of inveterate traders is now proposing to swallow the bait, though there is the hook in it of Soviet tyranny, that is to say, the absence of any guaranty for the protection of private property or even for the protection of personal liberty. No matter what promises the Bolshevik makes, they are vain, in face of the fact that the very existence of Bolshevism denies what the rest of the world has hitherto held decent.

It would be bad enough if the Bolsheviks worked only on their own soil. But they are pledged to propagandize. Did the treaty of recognition prevent the Bolsheviks from fomenting a Communist riot in Berlin? Secretary Hughes has revealed their sinister activities in America.

I was interested to note how Mr. Hughes's course concerning Bolshevism had impressed people here.

A Liberal friend observed: "You have no necessity in America to import grain and to provide work for the unemployed. Your condition is certainly not like ours. Besides, your danger from Bolshevist lunatics is greater."

The Socialists observed, as per the parlor-Socialist weekly, the "New Statesman:"

> The Progressives [in America] are angered by the snub which the State Department has seen fit to administer to the Soviet Government. The United States, says Mr. Hughes severely, is not going to barter its principles—a sentiment which would seem to have much less to do with the reasonable proposals of the Russian Government than it would have with, say, the Ku Klux Klan or the present Fascist régime in the State of Oklahoma.

Less flippantly, the Conservative London "Daily Telegraph:"

> What seemed to Moscow a promising opening for resuming negotiations with America has closed with a snap. For Mr. Hughes has replied that the United States Government "is not proposing to barter away its principles." That is where he differs from Mr. MacDonald, who is proposing to barter away the principles which the British Government have upheld in relation to Russia, or, if we do him an injustice and he is not thinking of bartering but giving them away, then the folly is even worse.

"Once recognized, always recognized?" I queried. "Yes," replied my authority; "once a priest, always a priest."

Perhaps then, even now, those temporarily in the saddle may hesitate. It is one thing to use a foreign policy for domestic purposes in collecting votes; it is another to make words deeds.

London.

SOMETIMES Britons complain about the way the United States handles the immigrants at Ellis Island. How many Americans know that British steamship lines have to care for transmigrants from Continental countries in camps and stations before they embark for America?

FULLERTON WALDO

tells of this work and what it might be made to mean to America in next week's issue of The Outlook.

Britain's New Premier

By FRANK DILNOT

We suspect that many Americans who read this vivid sketch of Britain's new Premier will lay it down with a new conception of the man who is to guide the destinies of Parliament until, by the turn of the wheel of British politics, he is overthrown

MR. RAMSAY MACDONALD, who has been summoned by the King to form a Government, will go down in history as the first Labor Prime Minister in a country which, while in practice liberal and democratic, has preserved through the centuries the custom of intrusting its Parliamentary rule to aristocrats. He will have around him in his Cabinet some intellectuals, but his principal supporters and ministers will be men who have worked with their hands for a living and some of whom at least started labor before they were in their teens. It has to be remembered that the individual members of the Cabinet in England have a position which is different from that of the men who compose the President's Cabinet in Washington. The American Cabinet are the advisers of the President, on whom definite and Constitutional authority rests. In London each member of the Cabinet, including the Prime Minister, is largely responsible as an individual. He receives a portfolio from the King as representative of the nation, and has to stand up in the House of Commons to explain and defend the policy and administration of the department under his charge. The Prime Minister is Chairman of the Cabinet, and, of course, has in effect a larger measure of responsibility and power than his colleagues. But nevertheless his colleagues, by virtue of their individual qualities or defects, may uplift his prestige or bring him down to ruin. Mr. MacDonald, therefore, will not solely in his own person exemplify the Labor Government. At the same time he will be its driving force, and the country will look to him for the main announcements of policy.

No man in Britain reaches the highest political honors if his personal record is tarnished. Curiously enough, there is little either written or said about the point, but no British Prime Minister could reach that position unless his private character in domestic life were of the highest type. Whatever their political deficiencies, the British people have a sound and ineradicable instinct for character, and they insist on character even in preference to brilliance and ability. For instance, no divorced man or any man concerned in a divorce would have the slightest chance of high political honors, although possibly no word would be said about the cause which prevented

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Ramsay MacDonald (in the right foreground) and other members of Parliament representing the Labor Party taking part in a tug of war at Eaton Lodge, near London

International

his elevation. The private lives of Gladstone, Salisbury, and all of those who have succeeded them are part and parcel of their eminence among British people. Ramsay MacDonald was a devoted husband whose great and abiding sorrow has been the loss of his wife. He is a devoted father. Friends and opponents alike pay respect to the man, whatever they may think of him as a politician. A few years ago Horatio Bottomley published a statement which put a slur on the birth of Ramsay MacDonald, with the idea that it would ruin him politically. Mr. MacDonald, immediately after the publication of the cruel statement, went down to a great Labor conference, where it might have been expected by Bottomley that he would be received with a new coolness. What happened? The chivalry of those thousand delegates representing every grade of industry had been deeply stirred. They rose as one man and cheered Ramsay MacDonald again and again. That gathering of one thousand working representatives were only voicing the deep indignation of the nation as a whole, aristocrats and Socialists alike, at the attempt to handicap, if not to destroy, a man who in his private demeanor and character had earned the respect of all classes.

Ramsay MacDonald began life as a pupil teacher, and, with a taste for letters, a capacity for acquiring knowledge, was early touched by ambition. He progressed by stages through various phases of employment—secretary to a big tea dealer, journalist on the old "Echo" in London, and secretary to Professor Gladstone, a relation of the Grand Old Man. It was in the latter post that he met Miss Gladstone, the Professor's daughter, with whom he fell in love. The affection was returned and subsequently they were married. It was a supremely happy union. The most moving among Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's many literary efforts is a charming little book in which he deals with his wife, her activities and temperament.

Mr. MacDonald is a tall, big, lean Scotsman, with high cheek-bones and black hair now turning white, with eyes of a burning brightness, a sonorous voice, and an air of poise and command. He has a temperament which does not always serve him too well. There is something of Hamlet in him. Deeply moved from his early youth by a knowledge of the burdens of the poor, he became a theoretical Socialist. But, while he was brought into continual contact with Labor leaders, many of whom have worked with their hands, he lived his mental life among educated men, and the consequence is that his manners, his talk, his interests, are more those of Lord Balfour, the aristocratic descendant of aristocrats, than they are of the traditional Labor leader. As one of the consequences of his environment he has a wider vision of life than some of his colleagues. He realizes that there is no short cut to happiness or prosperity, and as a result has sometimes been accused by nominal followers of not being truly representative of those whom he essays to lead. He has, however, a sweeping style of oratory which has stood him in good stead at many a Labor gathering, and, being a widely read and a much-traveled man, he has never had any real difficulty in disposing of critics. On the whole, the Labor movement is proud of his accomplishments and his intellectuality.

A man of courage, Mr. MacDonald has undoubtedly moments of doubt and fear as to the understanding and wisdom of some of his adherents, who will not see that the longest way round is sometimes the shortest way there. He is cursed by a lack of humor, a sad defect in the leader of any British party. His eyes never twinkle with whimsical merriment like those of Mr. Lloyd George, nor light up at a witty phrase as do Mr. Asquith's or Lord Balfour's. He has no gift for the humorous comparison. He has a capacious brain, and, like most intellectual Scotsmen, is clever at dialectic. There is something metaphysical about him, and his clouds of well-chosen words do not always leave a definite impression. In a battle of debate he can always be worsted by the clean-hitting, agile Lloyd George. The nearest approach to wit that I remember on his part was when a friend said to him one day recently that it was impossible to understand the antagonism to Mr. MacDonald of a certain well-known public man. "Has he ever met me?" asked Mr. MacDonald. "No, I think not." "That explains it," said the Labor leader. I heard an amusing story about him during the election from Mr. John Hodge, one of his colleagues. Certain members of the party were engaged in a propaganda tour through the provinces, and Mr. Hodge noticed that Mr. MacDonald always began his speech with a certain funny story in order to secure attention. At one crowded meeting Mr. Hodge had

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to make a preliminary speech pending the arrival of Mr. MacDonald. He promptly told Mr. MacDonald's funny story and got the usual laugh. Mr. MacDonald arrived, and, unaware of the joke played upon him, proceeded to tell the same story. There was courteous silence. Afterwards he said: "What a wooden-headed audience that was! I have never before met a thousand people so entirely devoid of humor."

Mr. MacDonald is a lifelong teetotaler, is fond of a good cigar, and plays an excellent game of golf. He will be at home in any society. I fancy he will be a typical British Prime Minister. There will be no revolutions with him in power. He will be more conservative than many Conservative Prime Ministers, more liberal than many Liberal Prime Ministers. I do not think he will be nearly so Socialistic in his administration as was Mr. Lloyd George in the famous Parliament which preceded the war.

Telling It to the Marines

What Old Gimlet-Eyes of the Devil-Dogs Is Doing in the Quaker City

Editorial Correspondence from Philadelphia

WHEN General Smedley D. Butler started to revolutionize the police force of Philadelphia in forty-eight hours, and an intervening day proved that he was doing what he said he would do, a member of the editorial staff of The Outlook called at Police Headquarters. What follows here is the result of interviews with General Butler, Philadelphia's new Director of Public Safety, and William D. Mills, Philadelphia's Superintendent of Police. Great praise has been accorded to General Butler for what he has done; but too little recognition has been given to the man who put General Butler in his present position, gave him a free hand, and backed him up—the new Mayor of Philadelphia, W. Freeland Kendrick. In his inaugural address on Monday, January 7, Mayor Kendrick announced that the protection of the public was of paramount importance. Mr. Taylor in his correspondence from Philadelphia tells how Mayor Kendrick's words have been translated by General Butler into deeds.—THE EDITORS.

WE are so used to spasmodic "clean-up" raids and superficial, feverish city house-cleanings, followed promptly by an easy return to usual conditions, that such matters have little general news interest these days. When, however, a highly dynamic and efficient brigadier-general of marines destroys at a blow the seeming inertia of a great police force, causes a tight closing of over ninety per cent of all illegal liquor-selling saloons in three days, ends each patrolman's justified fear of powerful politicians and blackmail-threatening saloon and dive keepers (and causes those same politicians to give the General their dumfounded and even admiring support), tells inefficient officers of all grades that they must immediately make good or get out, and puts them out, invents a brand-new and highly effective method of making brigandage exceedingly risky and unpopular, causes a sudden exodus of criminals of all sorts in the direction of less inhospitable cities—who does all this and at the same time achieves a tremendous popularity with the every-day citizen as with an overwhelming proportion of his police force—well, when such an extraordinary thing happens in one of our casually run municipalities, it becomes news of the very first order, copied in detail by the press throughout the United States, and arouses immediate interest even in Europe!

Of course, as you well know, I am speaking of Brigadier-General Smedley D. Butler, a notable Marine officer, lately given a year's absence to become Director of Public Safety in Philadelphia.

Four days after General Butler took office I paid a visit to the Superintendent of Police, William D. Mills. The anteroom, be it said, was a scene of remarkable activity. A lot of men seemed to have much to do, and were actively engaged in doing it. There was a steady stream of officers, in and out. There were any number of reporters, city officials—yes, and others looking like minor politicians and talking like them. There was a stir. Something was obviously going on!

The Superintendent wished me to understand that this was no typical temporary performance. "There is no fanatic behind *this* drive," said he. No, there had been no internal change in their system of management. The whole thing was severely practical, and based on fundamental principles. There had been no grand spectacular reorganization of the Police Department. But, on the other hand, there had been a very considerable reorganization of the attitude of every member of the force.

The Superintendent made this very clear. The reorganization had been accomplished by two extraordinarily efficient moves by General Butler. One of these destroyed at once any hold that the lower order of politician, illegal liquor seller, and criminal of any sort might have on a policeman. The other changed at once the attitude and ambition of a vast majority of the force.

The General has a picturesque, if blunt, phraseology (if correctly quoted), of a kind which gives most of us Americans an almost unholy delight when aptly applied. And the aptness in this case was obvious. He appealed at once to his men, both as a man and a reasonable being, and they rallied to him with all their might!

As soon as possible after taking office General Butler assembled all his men, half of them at a time, and astonished and won their approval simultaneously. Roughly, these are his words, as given to me by Superintendent Mills:

"You men are going to start a new slate, with a score of 100 per cent. What has passed doesn't count. Forget it. If you have been taking graft from some one, and he threatens to come up and

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squeal on you if you don't let him alone, let him come. We won't listen to him. He can't blackmail you. We are starting new, and nobody is going to bother you about the past.

"Now get this. Maybe some of you have been getting steady graft, and have been living better than could be done with your regular pay. Maybe some of you have cars supported by this extra income. Now if you don't want to reduce your income and live on your pay, then you'd better get right out. But if you want to stay and do a real job, and take a pride in this force, and do your part to make it the finest in the country, then I will try to get your pay increased. For a man who does a better job deserves a better pay."

Then, according to a reporter, he wound up a brief but effective meeting in this manner:

"I will give you forty-eight hours from three o'clock to-morrow afternoon to close up every illegal drinking-place or crooked shop in the city. If you fail, out you go. No politician is going to interfere with you. Do your duty—that's all you have to worry about. Now go home."

"But what about the politicians?" I asked. "Won't they secretly block every step and bring back former conditions?"

"You may be surprised to know," answered the Superintendent, "that the better element—the big majority—are really pleased. Naturally, after all. Whenever they tried for office, they had to face the odium of the rotten conditions in their wards. That always made things hard. They had to fight that every time. But they like what we are doing, because all wards get the same treatment. It gives no ward leader an advantage. They are backing us up.

"But how about unfriendly magistrates?" I asked. "Won't they hamper and discourage your men by discharging prisoners they bring in, sometimes at the risk of their lives?"

The Superintendent grinned broadly. "Now get this straight," said he. "It does destroy the morale of a police force to have magistrates constantly nullifying almost everything you do. Look at the New York force, a wonderful body of men! But what can they do? There you have it. Now here's how we get them. First of all, the Mayor can act as a magistrate. Get that? He can issue warrants and have prisoners brought right down here. Also he can select any two ward magistrates and have them sit at the City Hall. He naturally would pick out helpful ones. What happens? If an unfriendly magistrate releases a prisoner, right away the Mayor, or one of the two co-operating magistrates, makes out another warrant, the man is arrested and brought here to the City Hall. That fixes that."

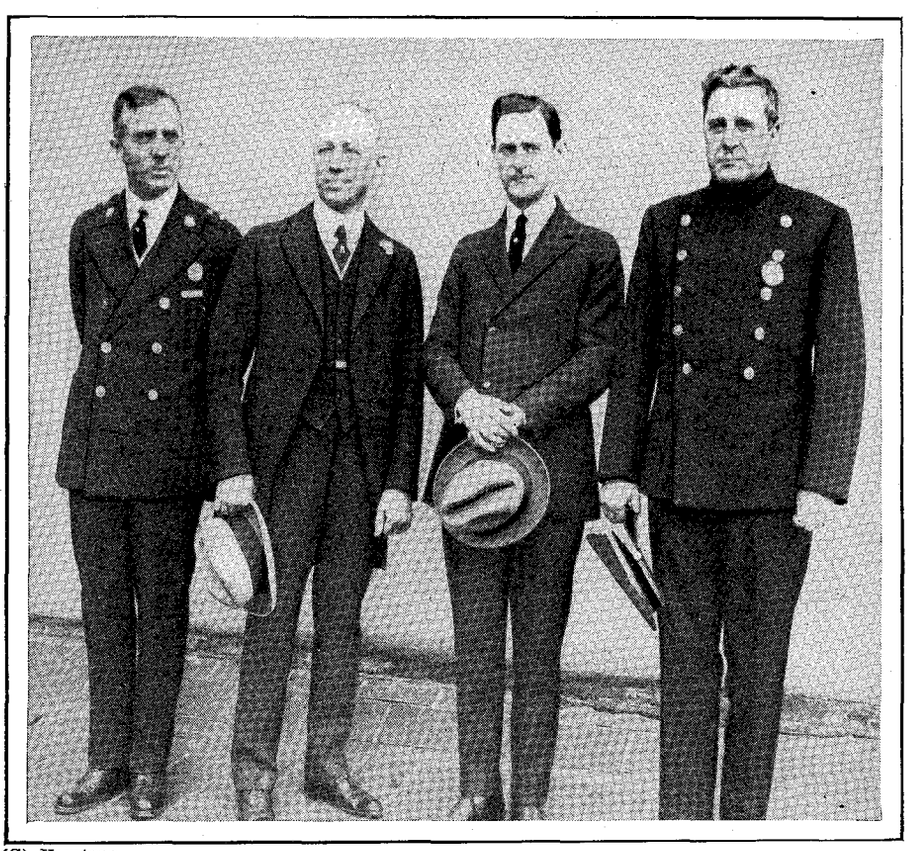
Superintendent Mills, a big and burly man, grinned almost boyishly to think how complete their victory was going to be. "It was this way," he continued. "We have always had a good force, but the men have been tied hand and foot many ways. The General ended all that. And now most of the men are acting as they always wanted to act, but couldn't. So, you see, this is no common raid at all. It is *fundamental!*"

And indeed it seemed so to the writer. Almost at a blow General Butler broke the hold of small politicians and potential blackmailers and nullified the efforts of dishonest magistrates—impediments that are the chief causes of inefficiency in our American municipal police forces. And he has given them an efficiency such as one would expect of an essentially military body, disciplined, thorough, alert, and taking pride in its organization, its service, and its chief.

Results? Hard to tell as yet. Nine hundred and eighty-five saloons closed out of a possible illegal twelve hundred. On the Superintendent's wall was a bulletin-board with frequent summaries of arrests for various causes. It shows, for instance, instead of a daily average of over 400 arrests for drunkenness alone, there were less than 40. Of a considerable number of drunken auto drivers there was but one on Friday and one on Saturday. There were veritably hundreds of letters of approval, some from poor women whose husbands were coming home sober. The first attention went to the saloons. Now it is going to the brigands. They were not making an exhibition, according to the Superintendent. It was to be a regular performance.

General Butler? A lithe, wiry man, hard as nails, a little above average height, expressive as to face, strong, blunt, rapid, kindly. He is the kind of officer men admire immensely and take prompt pains to obey. When I saw him, he had gone almost four days without sleep, yet his hand-shake was strong, with a sustained grip maintained a couple of minutes—not the grip of a "flash-in-the-pan" kind of person. It is a novel experiment to give such a position to a highly trained and experienced army officer of General Butler's type, instead of to a typical, easy-going political police head. Philadelphia's new Mayor has made an innovation that the Nation is watching closely. If it succeeds, it may mean much for law and order generally, and—well, the Marine Corps will run a first-rate chance of going short of commanding officers.

C. K. Taylor.



(C) Keystone

Principal Figures in Philadelphia's attempt to "Clean House"—Left to right: General Smedley D. Butler, Director of Public Safety, whom the Marines, or "Devil Dogs," called in affectionate respect "Old Gimlet-Eyes"—a sobriquet that sticks to him in Philadelphia; Mayor W. Freeland Kendrick, who appointed him; Assistant-Director Elliot; Thomas B. Mills, Superintendent of Police

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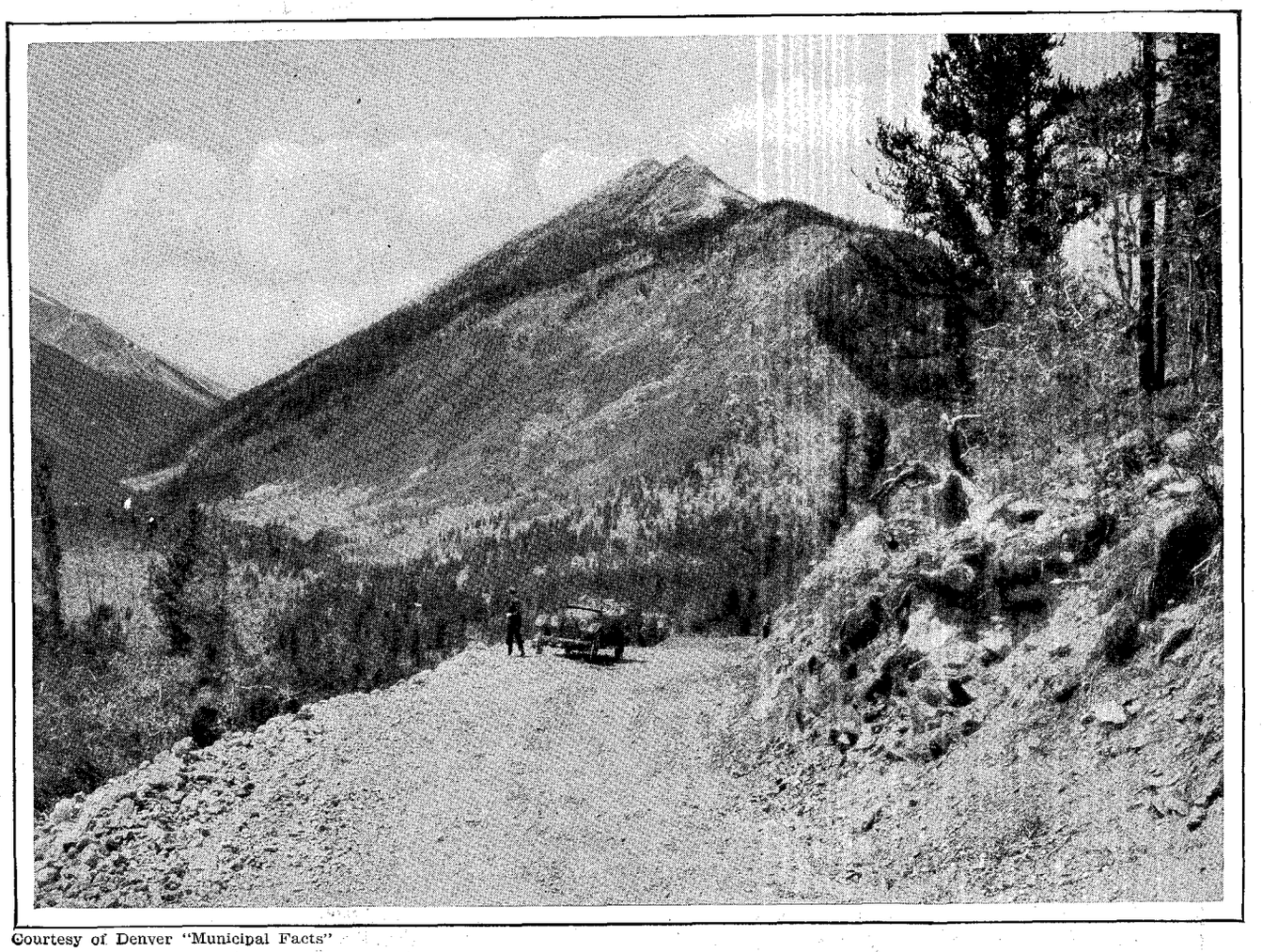
Springfield Missouri



Courtesy of Denver "Municipal Facts"

Berthoud Pass Road, Red Mountain in the Background

Timber-Line Turnpikes

By ARTHUR HAWTHORNE CARHART

IN our Western mountains trails of yesterday have evolved into the motor highways of to-day. Little more than a decade since roads passable only by a light, stout wagon crossed the principal passes. Now auto roads reach the crest of the high mountain ranges and probe their way through these timber-line defiles.

In early days the explorer and prospector toiled for hours over rock-strewn trails to the gnarled frontier of the timber-line forests. The passes on these trails were portals to the enchanting "Country Beyond"—always alluring, always beckoning. The way was a test of strength and determination.

To-day our motor cars roar up the same slopes over hard-surfaced roads, top the passes, and glide swiftly down on quiet pneumatic tread to that same beyond country.

Colorado, the State of high mountains, is also the State of high motor highways. Many take their names from passes made famous during the days of the early gold rushes. Tennessee, Monarch, Hoosier, Kenosha, Wolf Creek, and Independence passes are all woven into the historic tapestries of the past. These names now designate sections of many transcontinental motorways. Berthoud, Tennessee, Cochetopa, Wolf Creek, and Monarch passes are on the Continental Divide, while the Rabbit Ear road, Red Mountain, Veta, and Kenosha pass roads are over other major mountain ranges.

A most spectacular auto road zigzags to the top of Pike's Peak—the very peak that Pike declared could never be scaled by man. Twisting and turning, over rock-dotted alpine meadows and around rocky outcrops, this highroad finally creeps to the topmost tip of the peak, 14,110 feet above sea-level—the highest point in the world reached by an automobile.

High overlooks, beetling cliffs, alpine meadows spotted with vivid patches of flowers, snow-banks in midsummer, and the veteran timber-line trees twisted by the winds of many seasons are a few of the many distinctive features which may be found at the apex of our highest auto ways. A new principality, the Realm of High Mountains, is opened to the mountaineering motorist by these timber-line turnpikes.

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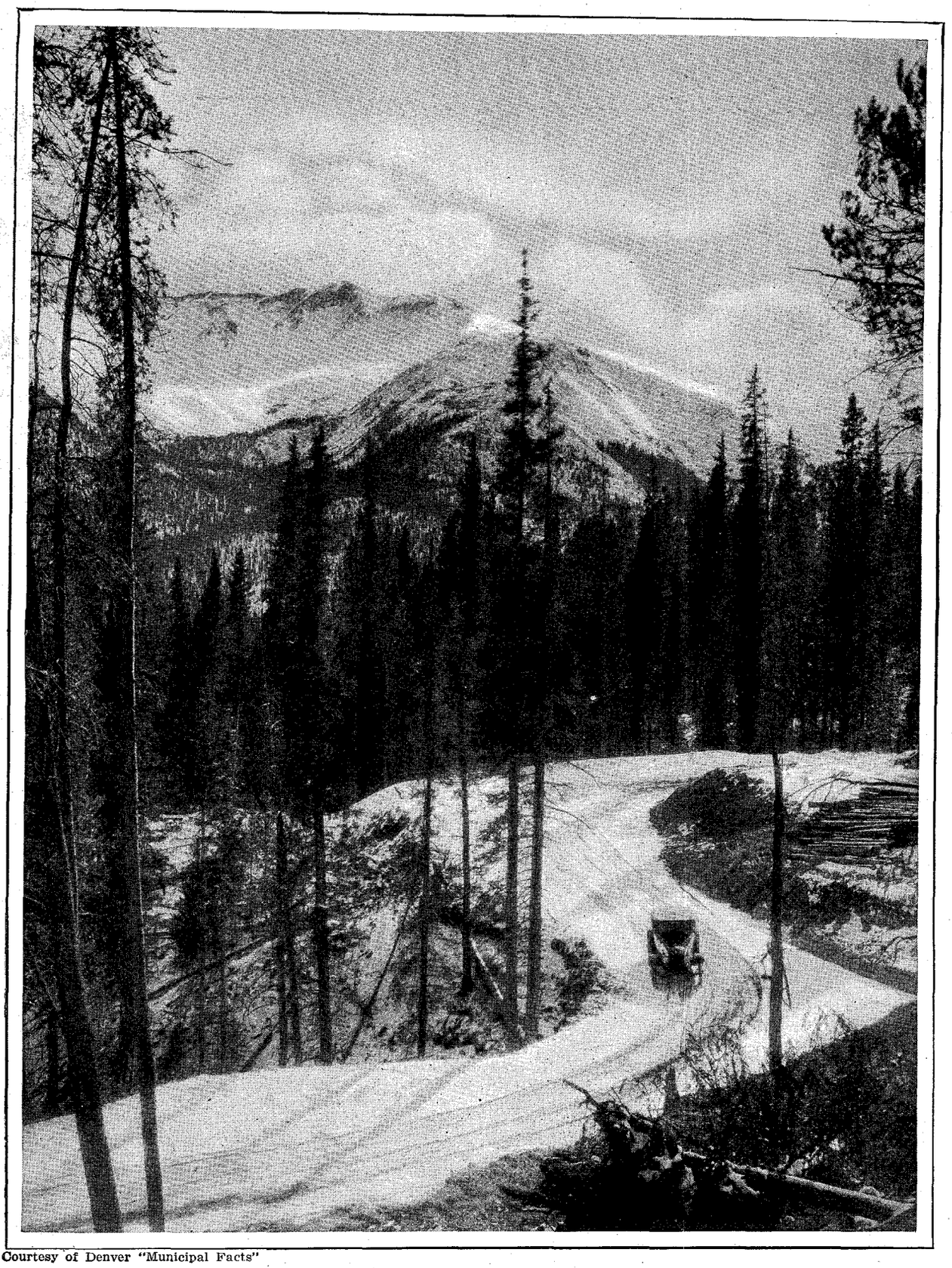

Courtesy of Denver "Municipal Facts"

Berthoud Pass Road, Mount Lincoln in the Background

On these pages are views of three of the most striking timber-line turnpikes which await the automobilist in the West. Such roads, as Mr. Carhart points out on the previous page, open a new principality to the mountaineering motorist

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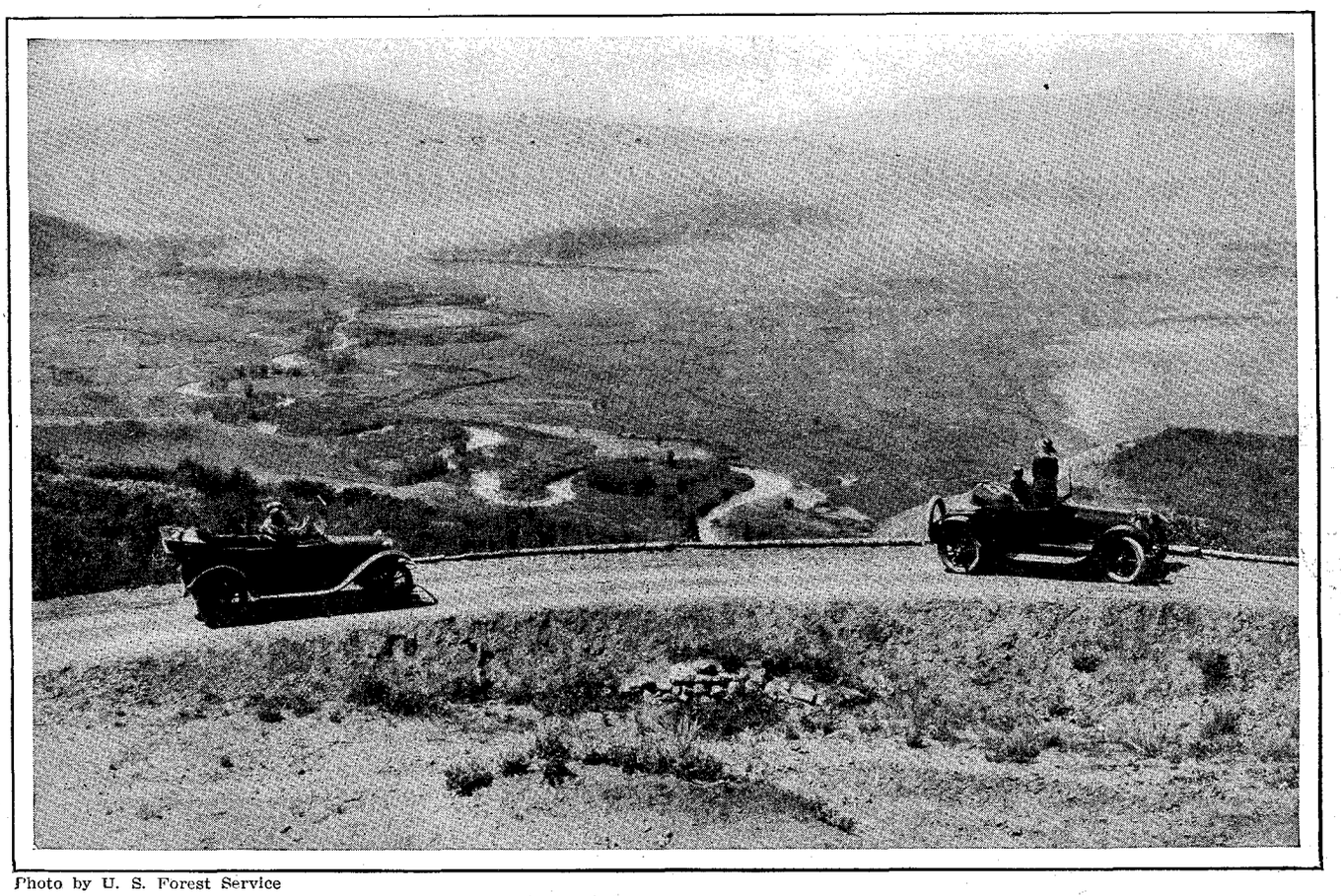

Photo by U. S. Forest Service

An Overlook that Resembles an Airplane View, on the Rabbit-Ear Road

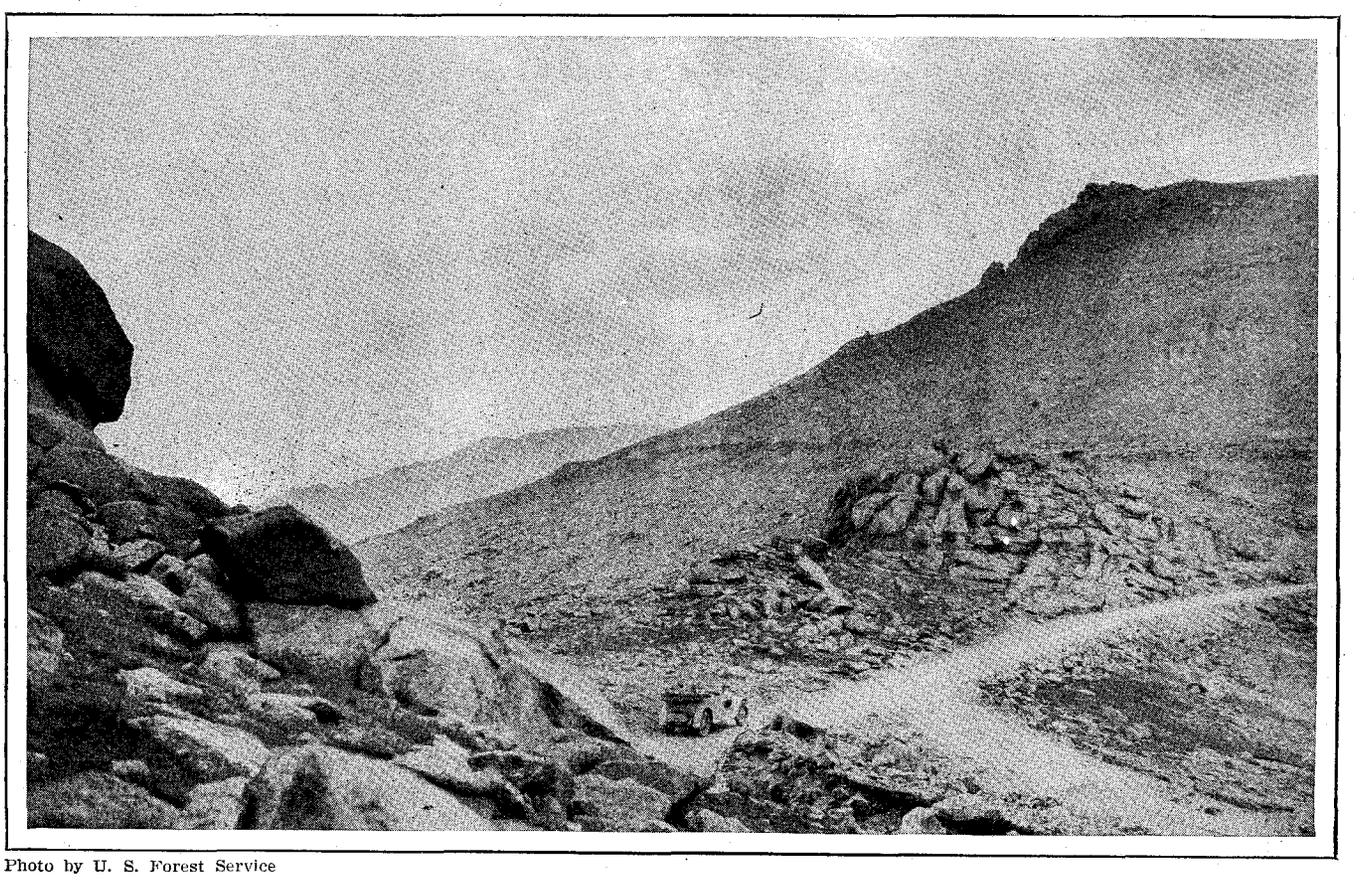

Photo by U. S. Forest Service

Pike's Peak Auto Highway, above Timber-Line. Note auto in silhouette on sky-line

Turnpikes

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The Coming Immigration Law

I—The Outline of a Policy

By ALBERT JOHNSON

Chairman of the Committee on Immigration, House of Representatives

AFTER years of study, including investigations in lands across the Atlantic and lands across the Pacific, the majority of the members of the House Committee on Immigration are, I believe, of the opinion that mankind is literally at the crossroads. The distresses of the peoples of the world, white, black, and yellow, are so many and the increase in the birth rate in all countries except France and Mexico is so great that the probabilities are that our own children will resent the fact that we have not been more successful in passing more stringent immigration restrictive acts. Our grandchildren will, fifty or sixty years from now, in all probability, be scratching hard for a foothold and food in the United States of America—the past land of boasted riches and untold resources.

I believe that the majority of the people of the United States, including even those of alien birth, have come to a very firm conclusion with respect to immigration. They think, and the majority of the House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization agrees, I believe, that—

1. Immigrants shall never again come to the United States as mere commodities in the labor scheme.

2. That the name melting-pot is a misnomer and that the asylum idea is played out forever.

(C) Harris & Ewing

Hon. Albert Johnson, of the State of Washington

3. That the countries of the world shall no longer dump upon the United States their criminals, their feeble, their aged, and their undesirables.

4. That if we are to clean house and provide those guaranties for every last alien now within our borders, each one of whom is included in those magnificent words which begin the first sentence of the Preamble to the Constitution, "We, the people of the United States," that we should, as far as possible, admit the husbands or wives, minor unmarried children, fathers and mothers, and even grandfathers and grandmothers, of those aliens now here, but decline to admit other dependents in any number under any quota scheme from any country; as a matter of fact, eighty-five per cent of all immigrants who have come to the United States in the past ten years have come to relatives, and for the last fiscal year ninety-eight per cent of all immigrants who came from Poland came to relatives, nearly all supplied with money furnished by these relatives; and although a very large number started without money and arrived without money, they were able within three weeks to find the money to send for more relatives.

5. That in order to prevent the growth of racial hatred, with its accompanying religious differences, it is highly desirable to keep out from the United States as many new arrivals as possible until we have thoroughly cleaned house.

6. That the United States should not continue to admit for permanent residence within its borders those who are, under the law, ineligible to citizenship, and that sooner or later the United States must amend its Constitution so as to deny citizenship to those born here whose parents were ineligible to citizenship.

II—The Plan Before Congress

By JOHN L. CABLE

Congressman from Ohio and Member of the House Committee on Immigration

THE selection of future citizens to this United States should not depend upon the horse-power of steamships. The admission of immigrants to this country is too serious a matter to be determined by a race of ships across the ocean, the speediest vessels being able to land the more fortunate ones at Ellis Island after executing a transatlantic Marathon.

This unsatisfactory condition is the result of the present three per cent restrictive Immigration Act. Unless extended or amended, it expires June 30, 1924. Only three per cent of the number of foreign-born nationals who reside in the United States as determined by the 1910 Census may be admitted during the fiscal year, and not more than twenty per cent of these are admissible in any one month.

Therefore, because of this regulation, we have the spectacle of public health doctors and inspectors working overtime at the beginning of each month, making hurried examinations of those eagerly seeking admission to this country. At the same time, we know that nothing is more important than the proper selection of those who, as potential citizens, are to become associated with the country's future.

The new bill framed by the House Committee on Immigration, which will be submitted to Congress during its present session, provides for a radical change in this respect. The proposed new legislation will eliminate this particularly bad feature of the present Immigration Act.

I may say in connection with this proposed new legislation that about eighty-five per cent of the members of the

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House of Representatives favor a more restrictive measure. This fact has been shown both by their votes and by their great interest in this all-important question.

In providing for a new law, that will cope with the difficult problem of immigration, special emphasis has been placed on the so-called "certificate plan." This represents a part—the most essential part, it seems to me—of the proposed new measure.

This carefully thought out method of determining future citizenry of foreign birth at their native homes will, I believe, serve to eliminate many evils that experience has shown to exist in former immigration measures.

Not only are the American people concerned with the number who may come here, but they also reserve the right to know something about the kind of immigrant who seeks a permanent residence here. There is no good reason why this country should make of itself an asylum for the physically, mentally, or morally unfit. This question is too serious a one to be treated lightly or with the apparent laxity which certain figures show has too often been the case in the past.

For example, the foreign-born make up 14.7 per cent of the population of the United States, yet they, the foreign-born, furnish 20.83 per cent of the numbers in institutions housing social inadequates. And when we consider the result of this to the taxpayer, we find that of the State governmental expenditures 3.57 per cent is used in the maintenance of aliens in State institutions. Certainly, self-protection demands a law that will prohibit these undesirable persons from being admitted here.

I have hope of great benefit resulting from this proposed certificate plan of admission to this country. In a word, this represents a system of selective immigration. Its operation begins at the home of the prospective immigrant. We learn something about the newcomer before he actually leaves his country.

For example, Sweden has a quota for the year of 20,000. Under the proposed certificate plan, that number of certificates will be printed and sent to the American Consuls, who will have charge of the viséing of passports of immigrants from Sweden.

With this passport the immigrant, under the law, will be required to furnish essential information pertaining to himself and his family, including the family record of health; also in this manner it will be determined if the applicant has ever been arrested, and, if so, the facts concerning the offense with which he was charged; his ability to read at least one language or dialect, as already prescribed by law; his occupation; and, if the custom of registering its people is in vogue in his country, then he will be asked to submit a copy of his record to the United States authorities.

With this information at hand, the American Consul will then pass on the application, and if the applicant appears to be admissible his passport will be viséd; otherwise not. To-day the Consul has little latitude. All he is able to do under the circumstances, in many cases, is to warn the immigrant of the likelihood of being refused admission at our ports.

(C) Harris & Ewing

Hon. John L. Cable, of Ohio

The proposed certificate to be used by the immigrant will be made out in duplicate, the immigrant retaining the one when he is admitted, the Secretary of Labor retaining the other for his files. Thus every immigrant and his native record, sworn to under oath, will become a part of what the Secretary of Labor hopes will constitute a new registration system for the handling of immigrant cases.

The final examination for admission should be made at our ports of entry by American doctors and inspectors on American soil, surrounded by American influence, where we have American hospitals and buildings for the temporary detention of those whom it may appear necessary to hold for further examination.

With the certificate plan in operation, every immigrant coming here will have the assurance that, so far as the particular quota under which he comes is concerned, he will not be turned back and be compelled to repeat the long sea voyage and at considerable expense, because of the fact that speedier ships bringing numbers of his countrymen had already exhausted the quota.

Under this new arrangement, the congestion at Ellis Island will cease, for the last of the month or the last of the year will be as safe as the first for those holding such certificates.

With the orderly flow of immigrants through Ellis Island a more thorough examination, at the same time, will be insured, and a better opportunity given for the weeding out of any chance undesirables.

The primary duty of Congress is to legislate for the American people; still there are those who press the claim that the present law is too restrictive. The records, however, refute this. Before the war, for instance, a million admitted of both immigrant and non-immigrant classes was a fair average. Let us compare this figure with the last fiscal year. North and South American and adjacent islands are not included within the quota territory. While 357,803 only may be admitted under the present quota, yet in round numbers 523,000 immigrant aliens were admitted, many coming from Mexico and Canada. The non-immigrant alien includes those who come here for business or pleasure—professional, skilled, learned classes, and the like. In addition, it is a safe guess that there were around 100,000 who came in unlawfully, seeping in over the border and from Cuba. This total of 773,000 compares very favorably with the million before the war. But, based on evidence submitted to the Committee, an additional million immigrants each year would have come to America under pre-war legislation.

Under the proposed act, one objectionable feature of immigration should be removed. I refer to the numerous personal appeals made to the members of Congress in behalf of families that have been divided through the rigidity of the present quota law.

This appeal presents unlimited opportunities for fraudulent and shyster lawyers and dishonest go-betweens, of whose activities this Committee has abundant proof. These irresponsible persons often use the names of Senators and Representatives without their knowledge, and their "interest" in the immigrant is made at great cost to these uninformed, unsuspecting, and helpless strangers.

On the whole, our duty lies first with the alien now in our land. Give him the privilege of an education, teach him the history and ideals of our country, the duties and obligations of citizenship. This is the highest of duties—the making of Americans for a bigger, better America.

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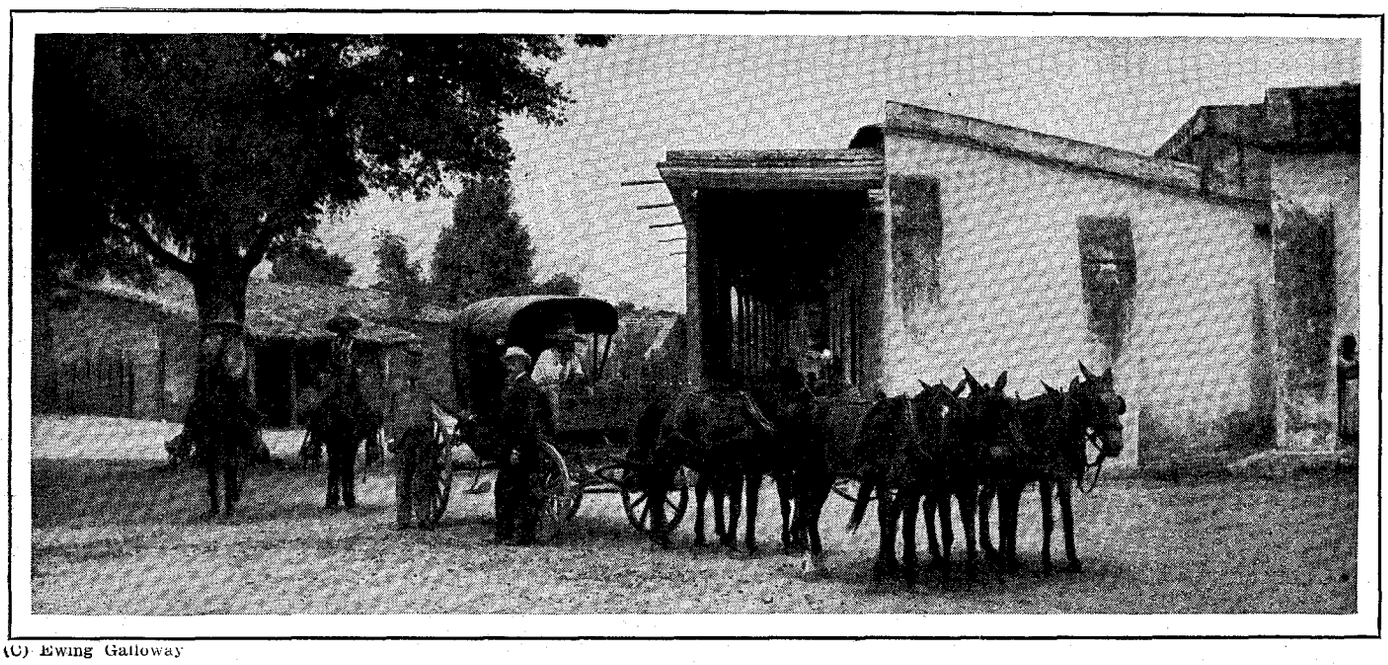

(C) Ewing Galloway

A typical Mexican hacienda, west of Mexico City, with characteristic long porch in front of the adobe house

Agrarian Reform in Mexico

By EDWARD CORSI

THE land question is Mexico's dilemma. It explains the whole of Mexican history, from the arrival of the Conquistadores to the fall of Carranza, and is at the bottom of the chaos and the confusion that have made that country the boiling-pot of the continent.

It is impossible in the course of a short article to review at length the historical background of this question. It will suffice here to state a few brief facts which will enable us to understand better the agrarian policy of the present Government.

The theory of private property was unknown to the Indians in the days preceding the conquest. All land was held in common. The Spaniards introduced the feudal system, which led to the creation of the *latifundia,* or large estates. In the sixteenth century the crown, in an effort to protect the indigenous population, gave to all Indian villages title to a square league of land, thus establishing the *ejido.* This *ejido* could be neither sold nor divided, but was to remain as the patrimony of its inhabitants, under protection of the law. In the seventeenth, eighteenth, and the earlier part of the nineteenth centuries so insatiable was the hunger for land on the part of the Church and the *latifundistas* that the Indian, in spite of the law, not only lost his common land, but became a slave to his masters. Benito Juarez in 1859, by the nationalization of the Church lands and the partition of the *ejidos,* played directly into the hands of the *latifundistas,* creating a despotism with no parallel in modern history.

EDWARD CORSI has written for The Outlook five striking articles on the social and political problems of Mexico. As the time for the election of a new President of Mexico is drawing near, Mr. Corsi's articles have a special value for all Americans.

In 1810 there were 3,800 *haciendas* and *ranchos* in all Mexico. In 1900 the *haciendas* numbered 8,872 and the *ranchos* 26,607. In 1908, under Diaz, the total number of large estates had increased to 42,237. Many of these estates averaged 400,000 acres and more. According to Gonzalez Roa, in the State of Chihuahua the Terraza family owned a territory equal in size to the whole of Costa Rica, while in the State of Hidalgo the Central Railway "keeps crossing for thirty leagues lands belonging to José Escandon." The State of Morelos, one of the richest sugar-producing states in the world (now practically destroyed), was at one time owned by thirteen families. Statistics prove that on the eve of the Revolution 8,000 families owned practically all of Mexico's tillable soil, while millions of Indians were mere peons on the land formerly belonging to them. The story is one of brutal exploitation and robbery, with a race of apathetic creatures serving as the plaything of a greedy crew of foreigners.

The Revolution of 1910, whatever may have been the aims and ideals of its leaders, was but an effort on the part of the Indian to secure a stake in the land. It was an attempt on the part of the masses to regain what they had lost. *"Tierra y Libertad"* was the slogan of the peon—land and liberty even at the price of blood. And the determination, the vigor, the courage, with which the Indian fought is but an indication of how thoroughly he meant to right the wrongs he had been compelled to suffer. Madero, Carranza, and Obregon came to power with the promise that they would restore the land to the people. Failure to keep that promise was one of the reasons that led to the fall of Carranza and the rise of Obregon.

Diaz's policy throughout thirty years of armed peace was to intrust the land and the development of the natural resources to men of wealth, in most cases foreigners. He was true to the tradition of his predecessors. The revolutionists, on the other hand, declared, as in Article 27 of Carranza's famous Constitution and in numerous public statements, that "the national wealth is property of the state and may not belong to foreigners." Subdivision of the *latifundia* and restoration of the *ejidos* to the Indian was the programme adopted and promised by the rebel chiefs to their followers, particularly by General Obregon, who in the course of his campaign against Carranza swore that "if my sword gives me victory

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I will restore the land to its rightful owners." With this programme they came to power.

It is one thing to make a promise, and quite another to keep it. The generals of the Revolution soon discovered that they faced a problem almost impossible to solve. They discovered, furthermore, that they had aroused in their followers passions and appetites beyond the power of Government to satisfy. It became evident to them, as it had been evident to the Cientificos, that out of 500,000,000 acres of Mexican soil only 25,000,000 are suitable for cultivation, and that the problem, as Obregon was compelled to confess to the Societa Agricola Jalisciense, "is not agrarian, but one of irrigation."

"Mexico," says Francisco Bulnes, "abounds in unproductive deserts and enormous ranges of mountains stripped of their forests. The comparatively small territory under cultivation, producing to-day sixty per cent less than in 1803, is largely exhausted through centuries of intensive cultivation. Without capital and large irrigation projects, made possible by vast concentration, agriculture in Mexico is out of the question. The leaders of the Revolution have not been fully impressed by the fact that the total area of the Republic is insufficient to feed fifteen million unfortunate people, as abstinent as camels. We are living to-day on what we import from the United States."

In spite of this, the Government, bent on maintaining its power and keeping its promise, proceeded with its programme of agrarian reform. In 1915, 1920, and 1921 agrarian statutes dealing with the donation and restitution of *ejidos,* together with the partition and subdivision of the *latifundia,* were passed with the understanding that no owner would be deprived of his land without just compensation.

In eight years of agrarian reform a little over 2,600,000 acres of land have been distributed to Indian pueblos in the form of *ejidos.* This has been taken mainly from *haciendados* and *rancheros,* who, in spite of protests on their part and on that of foreign governments, have not to this day received a single peso in compensation. The Government has offered to pay in agrarian bonds, but, in view of the large national debt and the instability of the nation's finances, these bonds are practically worthless. Courts in many cases have issued *amparos* (a sort of injunction) against agrarian commissions, but, in spite of their interference, the process of expropriation has been hardly impeded.

The application of the agrarian laws has caused a considerable falling off in agricultural production, a fact repeatedly admitted by the Ministry of Agriculture in its official reports. In a memorial to President Obregon the Camara Nacional Agricola de Puebla said: "Enormous extensions of the best land in the Republic have been taken from its lawful owners and given to men incapable of cultivating it, either through their indolence or their lack of experience. The result of this policy is that Mexico to-day does not produce enough to sustain itself, and that its agriculture, the life of the nation, is virtually dead. Economically Mexico is no longer independent, since it must look to a foreign Power for its sustenance." This falling off in production, added to the insecurity of property rights, has led to a loss of credit which greatly handicaps the producer. Owners are constantly complaining of their inability to borrow money.

Contrary to the popular opinion, the landowners of Mexico are not blind to the necessity for land reform. Their objection is to the methods, and not the ideal. "We do not deny," said an official of the Sindacato Nacional de Agricoltores, "the right of every man capable of cultivating it to own land. But we do say that if any man desires his neighbor's land he should be made to pay for it." In other words, these landowners are opposed to agrarianism only because it deprives them of their property without just compensation. That their cause is not without justice is confessed by many agrarianists. "What can we do?" they ask. "We have, on one hand, the necessity of solving this problem, and, on the other, the pecuniary impossibility of meeting the cost of indemnity. The only solution is bonds."

The Obregon Government faces the dilemma of either proceeding with its revolutionary programme, and thus further endangering the agricultural life of the nation, or retracing its steps and inviting a new popular upheaval. Certainly there is, for the present, no middle course. The masses are crying out for land at any cost. Flag-waving mobs, spurred on by agitators and trouble-makers, are storming the offices of Agrarian Commissions. The Agrarian party, an organization of a most radical nature, continues its agitation for *Tierra y Libertad.* Government officials and mob leaders are making the most of a grand opportunity for "easy money." The columns of the press are filled with accounts of "agrarian horrors," as in the recent case of Puebla, where the murder and the looting shocked the nation. The Indian, after fighting ten years for land, is in no mood to listen to reason. He will have his pound of flesh.

"Within two years," said a prominent Mexican, "there will be a terrible revolution. We are destroying the few natural resources that still remain, especially our agriculture." I am not so pessimistic. There are minds at work on this problem in whom we can repose great faith. With patience, perseverance, and courage a way out of the dilemma will be found.

(C) Ewing Galloway

Old methods and new in Mexican agriculture—the traditional Mexican wooden plow, with one handle, in the foreground; an American plow at the right, to which the peons at first objected on account of the two handles

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When the Klan Rules

The Business of "Kluxing"

By Stanley Frost

THOUGH the sins of the Klan be as scarlet, yet the world will always owe it a little something for giving us the verb "to klux," with its derivatives "kluxing" and "kluxer." They enrich the language. We have long needed some word to express the vociferous rounding up of the populace, which is one of our great National activities. "Kluxing" does it to a nicety; not merely because of the barnyard suggestion in the sound of the word, but because of its brevity, its implied humor, its onomatopœic fitness. Our American air is already reverberant with the ululations of various gentlemen aiming at a majority of noses next June or next November; time, trouble, and brain fag will be saved now that we can lump all their varied activities under the thrilling name of "kluxing."

The Ku Klux Klan has brought recruiting to a point of efficiency which is almost scientifically perfect and far beyond any similar system. No matter how much credit is given to the appeal made by its ideals and purposes, these could not propagate themselves. It is great skill in kluxing that has spread them so far and so fast.

Much of the Klan propaganda needs very little mention, as it is entirely in harmony with the ideals and professions already reported. In the addresses of its leading speakers and in the columns of the publications controlled by its National officers one finds much that is fine and stimulating and little that can be construed as an appeal to hatred even by the most bitter critic. Its proposals and assumptions are of course debatable; the foundation on "native, white, Protestant supremacy" is always present; but within those bounds the appeal is to the best side of patriotism and religious devotion and there is no inconsistency and no sign of hypocrisy. It seems that the effect of this form of propaganda must be on the whole stimulating and inspiring. It is far below abstract idealism, but almost as far above average thought and practice.

But this is only one side of the Klan appeal. There is another side which fosters and stimulates tremendous evils. In fact, in turning from the theory and ideals of the Klan, with which these articles have so far been concerned, to its actual operation, we find these evils in every field. The actual practices of klans

"THEORY and practice," as John Hay once remarked, "don't gee." Stanley Frost in this article discusses the philosophy behind the Klan and tells the methods of putting this philosophy into practice. It is the sixth of a series of independent but related articles on the growth and meaning of the Ku Klux Klan

and of individual klansmen fall far short of the professions made; faults appear of which there is no hint in the platforms; there are discrepancies so great that it is very easy to discredit all talk of ideals and high aims as the merest camouflage. This verdict would be unavoidable if it were not that evidences of high aims and idealism do also appear. The same thing is true in some degree of every organization—there are many men who quite sincerely condemn every church and Christianity as a whole on just these grounds. The Klan is at least as fallible in its workings as the churches!

Judgment will largely depend in the end on the point of view. It is possible to think of the Klan as actually an idealistic—if often mistaken—body, struggling to maintain its high aims against the faults and mistakes and selfishness and sometimes downright criminality of its agents and members, and wrestling with the compromises which must be made by any organization if it is to gain the strength for effective action. There are always such compromises; a recent similar case was that of Roosevelt, who in organizing his Progressive Party used many discredited politicians, riffraff, down-and-outs, and "the lunatic fringe." The Klan has all these elements in it.

It is just as easy, because of these same facts, to decide that the Klan's professions are purely hypocritical, that its hidden purposes are as evil as imagination can conceive, that the real control lies with the most vicious elements, that all its decent actions are dust thrown in the eyes of opinion, and that it is only in its worst deeds that it has dared to drop its disguise and act as it really desires and as it would act everywhere if it dared. This belief is of course very common; it seems to have about the same degree of reason as the one mentioned in the last article, that the Catholic Church will resume burning Protestants at the stake whenever it dares. The fact seems to be that the Klan, like every other body, has both idealists and crooks, and that there is struggle between them.

It is certain that, just as the Klan appears at its best when talking of ideals and purposes, it appears at its worst in its day-to-day workings. The compromises or revelations, mistakes or vice—you can take your choice—which show in actual operation are far below its own standards.

Farthest of all, perhaps, is its work of recruiting—its "kluxing." Recruiting seems to be a business which always does bring out the worst in any man or organization, since it is so easy to believe that almost any kind of support is worth getting for the sake of "the larger cause," and that almost any means is justified also for that cause. I recall one utterly devoted head of a missionary college who will be damned for all eternity if half the stories told of his lies and subterfuges in enlisting workers are true! I have known of no leader of any cause who ever refused support, however vicious, if only it would actually work for the object he aimed at. Since this is true of admittedly great movements and of splendid leaders, the Klan can hardly be expected to do better.

One qualification should be made, not only in regard to this report on the Klan's recruiting methods, but in regard to all my reports on its actual workings. It is possible to say that certain good or bad things have been done by the Klan, but it is not possible to strike an average. In a body of such size and such secrecy nothing less than omniscience can determine on which side the balance stands, for, no matter how much is learned, there will always be much that has not been discovered. I can only say this—and I realize that it has too little weight to determine even my own opinion—that so far as my own observations go, and in spite of the confusing mixture of good and bad in many things, the useful actions of the Klan seem on the whole to outnumber the bad, and the general level of Klan activity seems to be improving considerably.

This of course is outside any question of the good or evil in the Klan movement

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of itself. And also it is aside from the fact that the Klan cannot escape responsibility for the evils which exist, or at least for the burden of proof of lack of responsibility, since it uses an organization and a type of propaganda which make those evils easy.

THE kluxing system of the Klan was invented by Edward Young Clark, the same whose huge profits were one of the main targets in the Congressional inquiry two years ago, whose departure from the Klan was accelerated when Dr. Evans and the reform group took charge, and who recently offered to help President Coolidge expose the Klan. Its simple efficiency stamps him as almost a genius.

At the head of the kluxers is the Imperial Wizard; each State is in charge of a "king kleagle," who employs the field kleagles. These field kleagles each get $4 a head for every member enrolled; the king kleagles get $2 a head, and the balance of the $10 initiation fee goes to the Imperial treasury. Each pays his own expenses. The Imperial government supplies high-grade speakers in large number, paying their salaries. The king kleagles pay the expenses of the speakers in their territories, the salaries and expenses of minor speakers, office workers, and organization in general; the field men pay their own costs. The whole army is spurred on and trained by special instructors and schools, along the lines of any modern selling organization.

The system is naturally immensely effective—far more than any system of paying straight salaries would be. It keeps each man on his toes every minute, stimulates his salesmanship and ingenuity to the utmost, eliminates unsuccessful men promptly, and leaves no room for discord. It has resulted in what seems the best selling organization in America.

From its very nature it has two great faults. The first is the chance that some of the kleagles will make enormous profits, that the whole system will appear as a profit-making scheme, mulcting the "suckers" of their $10 "klectoken," and providing comfortable living for a large number of loafers. This is at least half true, but then every organized movement is more or less open to the same charges; the Red Cross, the charity organizations, Y. M. C. A., and all the rest are accused in the same way.

The actual profits of the kleagles do not seem to be very large. Klan men tell of three or four who have made around $50,000 a year by unusually successful campaigns, but the average is stated to be under $5,000. I cannot of course guarantee these figures, but they check up fairly well with what I have been able to learn of the number of enrollments. The total amount gathered and mostly spent in propaganda in the last year is staggering—around $30,000,000. With such funds, it is no wonder the Klan grows fast!

A far more serious fault is the pressure which this system puts on kleagles to take in every member they can get and to use every kind of an argument that may work. Apparently they do. I have not learned of a single case where a kleagle refused a member—who had $10—no matter how vicious or dangerous he might be. And there are reports, wherever the Klan organizers are active, of the use of the most abominable forms of appeal. In every case I have known of when such conditions were reported to headquarters prompt action was taken. But the system of itself stimulates just such abuses. It is needless to point out that they give the lie to every ideal the Klan professes.

Dr. Evans declares that these evils carry their own corrective. He says:

"This is a matter that has been a problem to all executives, and even today there is debate as to the better form—straight commission, salary and commission, or salary only. Possibly the present system has a tendency to make kleagles accept undesirable individuals. But it has been our experience thus far in the new order of things that kleagles very quickly learn that the successful development of a particular unit of organization depends on the high class of the individuals that form the nucleus around which they build. Many of them have found, much to their regret, that they have inadvertently let an undesirable individual slip in. Immediately they have found a slowing up in their organization work, and sometimes we have had to send other kleagles before we found the cause.

"The experience of the kleagles has been—and this is quite true—that they guard the membership very closely, realizing that undesirable individuals retard propagation. Therefore the commission system really does not bring about the condition that might generally be expected to follow. Further, the surest way for a kleagle to make certain of his discharge would be to admit an unworthy man or to spread propaganda not in harmony with the principles of the organization."

There is undoubtedly some truth in this, but it fails to cover two cases: first, places where the general tone of a community is so low that the profits will be greater if the lower elements are organized instead of the better; and, second, cases where a few extra dollars can be made by slipping in undesirables after the organization is well started. The evidence which has come to me all indicates that both these things do occur, that a considerable number of vicious types are admitted, and that in some communities the Klan is composed almost entirely of the lower elements. As previously stated, I cannot give the average, though it does seem to be improving, and is much better in the States more recently organized by the Klan.

The propaganda of the Klan takes three main forms. First is that of the speakers. Such speeches as I have heard or of which I have full reports are open to very little criticism. They follow the lines of the Klan appeal already reported—better government, better citizenship, patriotism and religion in general, and "native, white, Protestant supremacy." They have been fine, spirited, balanced, eloquent, but without any attempt to stir prejudice or appeal to hatred except what comes from the subject itself. They are as good, or as bad, as the Klan movement at its best.

The published propaganda—the Klan press—is far different, however. There are published some thirty Klan papers, with a combined circulation of more than a million—another testimonial to the strength of the movement. The style of most of these publications is execrable, but perhaps no worse than the general run of country weeklies. Most of their matter is about the same, except that they add material along the lines of Christian and patriotic idealism of about the intellectual level of a Brisbane editorial.

IN addition, however, almost all of them carry very definite appeals to hatred and prejudice, almost always against the Catholics. This is crude, raw, sometimes indecent. A few samples will illustrate.

The "Protestant Standard," of Merryville, Louisiana, carries these headlines: "Klan Calls Rome's Hand in Oklahoma. Jesuit Judases Jeopardize American Life and Liberty. Pope Uses Walton in Effort to Bring Back Inquisition of Dark Ages." The text shows that Walton is merely having the Klan investigated by courts martial!

The "Good Citizen," of Zarephath, New Jersey, says in its editorial on "The Rising of the Ku Klux Klan:" "Now Rome has come across the great sea with her un-American hordes, to sweep away Protestantism as with a flood. For a time she was restrained, but she grows bolder in her assaults on Protestant institutions, in her efforts to make this country subserve the purposes of the Vatican."

The "Patriot," published in St. Louis, tells how "Syracuse, N. Y., Patriots

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Rally to Defend Public Schools from Rome-Controlled Politicians."

The "Arkansas Traveller," of Little Rock, prints under the caption of "Lincoln's Warning" a statement beginning: "I do not pretend to be a prophet. But though not a prophet, I see a very dark cloud on our horizon. That dark cloud is coming from Rome. . . . A cyclone such as the world has never seen will pass over the country, spreading ruin and desolation from north to south." There is nothing to show what "Lincoln" said this, or when.

Since The Outlook is involved, I will finish the sampling with an item from the "Texas 100 Per Cent American." Under the heading

"LIES—LIES—LIES"

editorially addressing a priest who had written to The Outlook in defense of the Catholic Church, this Texas kluxer says:

Reverend Sir.

Now, Reverend Sir, you who wears his collar backward like a mule, that you have denied that the Jesuit Order, or the entire Catholic world for that matter, does not hold to the doctrine that the end justified the means, we should like for you to deny some other things.

Did Your Church Cremate Joan of Arc?

Was Joan of Arc burned as a heretic by your fanatical followers, or rather those who led your church in the centuries past?

Deny that if you can.

Then, after she had been burned at the stake for being heretical, why did your church in these latter days canonize her?

Come on, Rome, we are asking you!

THERE is any quantity of such stuff. It reminds one somewhat of the propaganda of the Know-Nothings, though it is far milder, for they filled the country with supposed confessions of monks and nuns, with sickeningly illustrated brochures on the Inquisition and on martyrdom, and similar horrors. This lessened virulence is probably encouraging, but the stuff is more than bad enough.

Klan officials deny responsibility for these publications, except for the "Fiery Cross" and the "Night-Hawk," its official organs, which are not subject to the same criticisms. The Klan has no control over these raging unofficial sheets, its leaders declare, and the editors are often not even Klansmen, but are merely seeking a profit by catering to Klan feeling. This is likely true; yet the very defense is an admission of the widespread religious prejudice in the Klan ranks, since there is profit in such screeds.

This seems to be another of the situations which the present régime inherited and has not yet straightened out. Some efforts, with small success, were made last spring and summer to tone down the rabid Klan press. Now a new plan is under way; Milton Elrod, an Indianan, who of all the Klansmen I have met is most frank to admit faults and urge remedies, has been appointed to organize a string of Klan papers throughout the country which shall be under absolute control and shall reform or drive out the present lot. When that has been done, it is likely that a very different verdict would be rendered on the Klan press. At present "blatherskite" seems about the kindest adjective that can be used.

THE third type of propaganda is the "whispers." As with any kind of whispering propaganda, it is practically impossible to prove authorship. But there are certain whispers which appear so regularly wherever the Klan activity is great that they must be considered part of the campaign, either as deliberate promulgations or as a natural undertone.

Most of these are revivals of the standard mythology about the Roman Church; stories that a rifle is buried under a Catholic church or under the Knights of Columbus hall whenever a Catholic boy is born; that the Knights of Columbus hold secret drills, that priests seduce women at confessional, and so forth. There are added current accusations: that the Catholic vote is controlled by the priests and used to corrupt political officials; that there is a Papal conspiracy to get control of America, as shown by the plan to move the Vatican to America (the denial from Rome has not stopped this story); that there is a Catholic-Jewish alliance aiming at control of the public schools, which has been so successful that in New York City no Protestant can reach high office in the schools; and that the criticism of the Y. M. C. A. during the war was started by the Catholics and Jews, the former under orders from Rome. This last whisper has had the interesting result of greatly increasing the prosperity of the "Y" in some places.

There are fewer whispers about the Jews, and what there are mostly follow the charges made by the Dearborn "Independent," alleging a world-wide Jewish money conspiracy, Jewish backing for revolutionary movements, and Jewish ambitions for control of America. The large number of Jewish advisers around Wilson when he was President are cited, and there are very dirty whispers to account for the influence they had with him and with other public men. Finally, Jews, Catholics to a lesser extent, and aliens in general are credited with a natural pre-eminence in crime, vice, and the corruption of officials.

One particular whisper is interesting enough to repeat in detail. It has to do with the dollar bills of the issue of 1917, the ones bearing a portrait of Washington. This bill is supposed to have been covered with Catholic symbols as a result of a defiant and impudent scheme of Catholics in the Bureau of Printing and Engraving. On its face, according to the whisper, there are a portrait of some Pope in the upper left corner decorations, various hailing and recognition signals of the Knights of Columbus being made by members of the group depicting the discovery of America by Columbus, and some snakes and a portrait of St. Patrick in the lower left corner decorations. On the reverse the decorations of the ornate "E's" are supposed to show the Catholic cross, the big figure "1" is declared to represent a crozier, the decoration over it a bishop's miter, and so forth. The whole idea is that the bill symbolizes the watchful eye which the Popes have had on America from the moment of its discovery, and their intention of dominating it. The story goes on that when President Harding discovered the profanation he discharged the head of the Bureau.

This is most effective propaganda. The bill actually is a curious one; it takes no great imagination to see several of the things alleged. It is even true that the Bureau head was discharged, though it was for getting the serial numbers on Liberty Bonds mixed up. But hundreds of thousands believe the story perfectly, and every good Klansman, when he gets one of these bills, tears off the corner with the "Pope's picture." It is amazing that so silly a performance—supposing it to be true—could cause such furor, yet thousands take it as proof that Catholics are disloyal, and expect the Pope to rule America!

Before dropping these phases of kluxing, it should be noted that the counter-propaganda is every bit as bad as that of the Klan in its worst phases. The publications, the whispers, the covert and unproved charges, the defamation—all are unspeakable. The counter-prejudice even goes so far that a very solemn New York paper, after many well-justified attacks on Klan lawlessness, comes out with a justification of the mobbing of a Klan delegation because it tried to put a wreath on a soldiers' monument! Yet it was the Klan itself that called out all these devils of prejudice, and it must bear much of the blame even when they turn on it.

Two more things about Klan propaganda. First, it is highly adaptable. It makes use of resentment against alien farmers in Ohio, against Sabbath viola-

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tion in Indiana, bootlegging in Kansas, alien labor in the factories, Catholic office-holders where there are any—and also where there are not!—a Jew's defense of unrestricted immigration, high taxes, high railway rates, grafting contractors, parochial schools, the latest local scandal, use of any and every resentment that is handy. The kleagles everywhere get inside the community psychology.

The second point is that opposition is of great value to the Klan, especially illegal or violent opposition. Every such case, and there are many, is used to prove the perversion of Americanism and the domination of officials by Catholics, Jews, or aliens. The fact that a boy was fined $100 for selling a copy of the "Fiery Cross" was one of the best talking points in the campaign that gave the Klan half a million members in Indiana. The attacks on Klan parades in several places brought swarms of recruits. "If we could have a riot a week, we'd own the country in a year," one Klan organizer told me, and he gave figures to prove it. Almost all Klansmen religiously believe that these attacks were ordered by Catholic priests, a sort of religious persecution, and were also ordered stopped because they failed to check the Klan.

Curiously, this has had a reaction somewhat favorable to the Catholics, for, as one Klan official said, "If they're fools enough to do a thing like that, they can't really be very dangerous." I assured him that I didn't believe the Church was responsible, but do not know yet whether my remark hurt or helped the Klan—assuming that I convinced him.

Thus the evidence seems conclusive that the business of kluxing carries with it not only stimulation of patriotism and of a sense of civic duty, but very grave evils. These include the appeal to and stimulation of hatred and prejudice, the circulation of stories some of which are untrue and all of which are calculated to increase class solidarity and National division, and the gathering in of all kinds of riffraff who cannot possibly sympathize with the high aims the Klan professes. The Klan claims that it regenerates and uses such men. Even so, many evils remain; evils which it is nothing less than criminal to foster if the Klan is run for either profit or personal power, as so many believe.

Even if the Klan's own statement of its purposes be accepted, it is still possible to condone these evils on only one ground: that its purposes are high enough, its chance of achieving them good enough, and the incidental reforms it makes important enough to offset the damage it does. This plea has to be made for every organized movement, and the Klan is certainly entitled to whatever benefit it may give. It can also plead in defense the efforts it is making to suppress these evils, and if it should succeed in stamping them out, as it has practically stamped out violence, its position would be immensely strengthened. But there would always remain all the disruptive force implied in its platform of "native, white, Protestant supremacy."

THE next article, "The Lure of the White Masks," will take up the other side of the growth of the Klan, the reasons, aims, and states of mind which lead men to join it. There is one very powerful motive, which does not appear in either the propaganda or the platform of the Klan—the very common passion for removing motes from the eyes of one's neighbors.

Women in Politics

By MAYME OBER PEAK

This article is based on a series of interviews with the outstanding women leaders of America. It includes women who are high in the councils of the old parties and women who have refused to affiliate with the great political parties of the past

WHERE there's a woman, according to the old theory, there's a triangle. Which seems to hold good in politics. But not in the matter of sex. Women vow that sex shall not enter politics. They vote as citizens, not women. Being women, however, they are naturally argumentative, and are divided in their opinion as to the best way to make their vote count.

Given an outlook beyond the narrow confines of home, women were astonished to find politics so closely allied with other things. It came as a surprise to them to learn that politics meant street laws, ash barrels, speeding laws, the school, the movie, and the playground; that politics, as Kathleen Norris aptly puts it, "was not a mysterious big machine turning vaguely somewhere in space, with no reference to your boys and mine, your little girls and their school, their first beaux and their first babies."

With the realization that the way they voted would have a profound influence on all these things, came the desire to vote right. And, woefully aware of their lack of political knowledge, the first thing the women undertook was to learn *how to vote right*.

They attended citizenship schools and leagues and joined organizations specializing on women as voting citizens. Which non-partisan training is largely responsible for the woman's vote being the independent unit it is to-day.

A man inherits his politics, voting as his father and grandfather before him. This is not true of a woman. She takes her politics as seriously as her job, and more seriously than her religion. She may be a Presbyterian because her mother is, but she will not be a Democrat because of her father or husband.

She prefers to work out her political salvation, and in doing so has found herself hesitating at the crossroads, before three signposts. These signposts, pointing three different ways to reach the main highway, may be represented as follows:

First, the influence exercised by the women executive heads of the two big political parties, the Republicans and Democrats, who argue that the best way to reach the desired goal is by becoming stanch party supporters and working *inside* the parties *with* men.

Second, the League of Women Voters, who urge a period of reflection before becoming identified with either political party and who preach a non-partisan doctrine that enrollment in one party is not confinement for life. They believe in voting by principle instead of party; in placing intelligence and conscience above party loyalty.

Third, the National Woman's Party, which is what its name implies—a separate woman's party working for women *against* men.

This last party, of which Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont is National President and Miss

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International

Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont
National President of the National Woman's Party

International

Mrs. Maud Wood Park
President of the League of Women Voters

Alice Paul, Vice-President, represents the militant suffragists, who, like the Irish, seem to have got the habit. Although they won what they "fit for"—the vote—they claim the vote is all they did get; that the discriminations against women are just what they always were, and that the only way for women to get them removed is to hit men over the head instead of chucking them under the chin.

These militant women call their National headquarters—a group of historic buildings directly across the plaza from the National Capitol, purchased by Mrs. Belmont—the Watch Tower. From this important vantage they keep a watchful eye on happenings in Congress, radioing the news to their followers throughout the country.

Their programme of legislation is now crammed in a capsule known as the "Equal Rights Bill," which demands the granting to women of complete political, legal, and civil equality with men. This is strongly opposed by other women's organizations as too sweeping in its provisions, working in some cases more hardship than benefit.

The Woman's Party, however, brooks no interference. Before drafting the equal rights legislation, State and National, they first consulted lawyers of prominence in all parts of the country and in all phases of law. Satisfied with the legality of the blanket amendment, the National officers of the Woman's Party met in conference and indorsed it, and then began a campaign in its behalf among the State Legislatures. In the next election they intend to make the equal rights amendment a paramount political issue, just as they made suffrage a political issue of prime importance in previous elections.

If the powers that be do not come across, it is obvious that the Woman's Party means trouble. They represent a greater potentiality for a third party than any progressive bloc that has ever loomed on the political horizon. Their spokesman and leader frankly admits that they are on the war-path. In a recent public statement Mrs. Belmont declared:

> We have a definite goal to reach, and we cannot reach that goal over either the Democratic or the Republican road. For our goal itself is a third party, a permanent political party. Women are one-half the population of this country, and we believe that that half should have its own political organization to stand for its own aspirations and ideals and political beliefs.
>
> If to meet this situation the two principal parties should combine into one and enter the field against the Woman's Party, none would be better pleased than we.

In striking contrast to the militancy of the Woman's Party is the conservatism of the League of Women Voters, who are interested in both the Republican and Democratic parties in a disinterested way. While they do not wait to act upon policies of public interest until a regular party organization has spoken, yet they take no side in partisan politics. They exploit and explain to the woman what individuals and parties stand for, and determine their National policies independent of party.

The pledge of the League of Women Voters is worth repeating:

> Believing in government by the people, for the people, I will do my best:
>
> First: To inform myself about public questions, the principles and policies of political parties, and the qualifications of candidates for office.
>
> Second: To vote according to my conscience in every election at which I am entitled to vote.
>
> Third: To obey the law, even if I am not in sympathy with all its provisions.
>
> Fourth: To support by all fair means the policies I approve.
>
> Fifth: To regard my citizenship as a public trust.

The League has two million members and a hundred-thousand-dollar budget. The President, Mrs. Maud Wood Park, is a leader and organizer of wide experience. Asked for an opinion on woman's progress in learning the political game, she said:

"Everywhere women have to learn the way to bridge the gap between the decision as to what they want and the proper action to take to get it. In politics, just as in every other phase of life, we need a period of reflection before action if we are to make that action effective. No political party can train the new woman voter, because political parties are organized for the success of

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(C) Clinedinst, from Keystone

Mrs. Emily Newell Blair
Vice-Chairman of the Democratic Party

Keystone

Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton
of the Republican National Committee

certain policies and for the election of candidates to carry out those policies.

"Therefore it is impossible to obtain the all-round view of facts and conditions that the new voter is desirous of having before she decides what she wants to do in political parties.

"The woman at twenty-one years is considerably older and gives a more mature consideration to political issues than the average man of that age, who automatically goes into the party of his father before him. Men accept the party ticket as a matter of course. Women haven't that habit. They want to be shown, and are taking a more conscientious view of their obligations.

"I've been in nearly every State in the Union since the passage of the Suffrage Amendment, and have watched women who were not in sympathy with the movement in the earlier day show a growing interest in politics and in education for efficient citizenship. I have found the women primarily interested in their own community problems, convinced that good government begins at home.

"To the mothers' lack of political education in the past can be traced the neglect of political duties by so many men. It is odd that we should ever have expected a boy to grow up regarding the intelligent use of the vote as a sacred duty when his mother's reply to questions about local government was usually: 'Ask father when he comes home.' It is inevitable that the child should grow up feeling that the questions his mother could not answer were of no importance.

"This condition is changing. Mothers of to-day can answer, and are laying the foundation in the home for political education. They will teach duties of citizenship in the daily home life, and children will grow up with a different attitude toward political obligations when both parents can answer and have mutual interest in the questions put to them.

"The new methods of the women—finding out things for themselves—are making candidates candid. The League of Women Voters has a plan of not only asking the man who is running for office to define his position on public questions, but, after he has been elected, of asking whether he has lived up to his promises.

"I have been present when opposing candidates addressed mass-meetings of women. Their speeches were expositions and explanations, not arguments, each speaker giving the best understanding he could of political questions under discussion. It was an education to the hearers—the dawn of a new kind of campaigning, for which the new voter, who is forming her political beliefs intelligently and is not bound by blind party loyalty, is responsible."

Mrs. Emily Newell Blair, Vice-Chairman of the Democratic party, and one of the founders of the League of Women Voters, thinks the League does a good work in arousing all eligible women to vote in the elections. Yet she believes that she would be a stronger Democrat to-day if she had not had that non-partisan training.

"The only thing to do," she said to me, "is to come into the parties and make them stand for what they say they stand for. The women's vote offered an opportunity for a restatement of party policies. If women come into a party believing that it stands for certain things and the party has bid for their vote on those things, they will insist upon getting what they are promised.

"I think the tendency toward non-partisanship is a bad thing. If a woman votes for John Jones because she thinks he is a strong individual, she is voting for an individual instead of what he stands for. And when she does this, she believes in government by persons. What she ought to believe in is government by principle.

"The average man is a strong party supporter. Out in Ohio Judge Florence Allen, first woman member of the Supreme Court, ran on a non-partisan judicial ticket, and was elected by the women. The men had nothing against her, but wouldn't vote for her because she appealed to them neither as a Republican nor a Democrat.

"Governments cannot function except through political parties, and political parties cannot function except through strong organization and party loyalty. The organization, however, should be servant, and not master. We ought to have a difference in parties and a difference in fundamental theories of govern-

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ment, with the differences clear cut and the division made as heavy as possible instead of as light.

"Whenever a so-called progressive Republican wants to be liberal and progressive, he votes with the Democrats. And whenever a Democrat wants to be a reactionary conservative, he votes with the Republicans.

"Any woman with a good mind can inform herself on the technical questions of politics. But I haven't found that women are more ignorant about politics than men. We got out a booklet on 'What the Woman Voter Should Know,' and had to change it to 'What Voters Should Know.'

"The all-important thing for a woman is to bring an open mind to political questions, to be able to take in both sides and draw her own conclusions. I think the reason Miss Alice Robertson was defeated for re-election to Congress was because she brought a prejudiced mind belonging to another generation. She was non-progressive, unwilling to meet the present demands. She fought all woman's legislation. Women would not have stood for a man who did that, and certainly not for a woman.

"What we need in politics is breadth of vision, honesty, and moral courage. Women will supply these. By nature they are more spiritual than men. Politics makes a special appeal to a man's purse. He is unused to looking at it from any angle so important as that of the business angle. For a woman politics has no material appeal whatever.

"Men like power; they are used to political bosses. Women may have vanity about wanting to be at the head of things, but how far do you think they would get if they attempted to lord it over other women? I think women do better team-work than men, in spite of the belief to the contrary. They expect no political gain, as the men do, and are making every effort to take politics out of the hands of professional politicians. They do their political work as freely and unselfishly as they do their missionary or community work."

Although on the other side of the fence politically, Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton, of the Republican National Committee, holds about the same opinion as to the importance of party affiliation. Mrs. Upton spent forty years working for suffrage, and is spending the rest of her life working for cleaner politics. She is the old-fashioned type of woman—fat and jolly and motherly—who has old-fashioned ideas about handling men. Beating them over the head with a stick would never be her line of approach.

"How does a government function?" she asked. "By having bricks thrown at it from the outside? Not much. To make the government function right you've got to get inside of it and give the best that's in you to make it move. And the only way you can give the best that's in you is to work with an organized group.

"It is the duty of every American citizen to make this country the best in the whole world. You make a country good or bad as your government is good or bad, and you make your government through a party.

"Since it is the established principle of the Nation that its Government shall be conducted through the agencies of two major parties, it is incumbent upon citizens to recognize those parties and to exercise their political activities in and through them. And if changes are desired in them, *to make them from the inside*. To support only such party candidates and measures as may occasionally appeal to us would be only a little less illogical than to withhold complete allegiance to the Government itself and to support it only when it particularly pleases us to do so.

"The only way women can interest themselves properly in politics is by joining a party. They should come in and clean house. The political parties need cleaning up; they need to be organized on a better basis. I think women realize that there must be machines in politics, though not in an autocratic sense. Machine literally means organization. Without organization, any sort of community effort fails. So it is in politics. To my mind, the principal function of women in politics is to build the best possible machine for the party and to watch it and improve it all the time.

"As yet women are not inside the political organizations the same as men. The laws of the States provide how the State and county committeemen shall be elected, but many make no provision for women. The men's organization is a regular organization perfected by law, while the women's is voluntary. But this is being changed by the Legislatures, and legal provision is now being made for women in the regular organizations.

"Speaking of women improving party machines," she said, returning to the original topic, "reminds me of a conference I attended not long ago of the New Jersey Republican Woman's Club. This club has a membership of several thousand courageous women who stand for things in their community when they believe they are right even in the face of overwhelming opposition from the majority. On the occasion of my visit the delegates passed a resolution to the effect that they did not believe any change should be made in the enforcement of the Volstead Act, thus repudiating the action of the Republican Committee and the wets, who had voted for modification.

"I was perfectly enthused at the calm, quiet, and unemotional way in which they took action. They knew it was right to remain dry, and it did not make any difference to them what the machine had said. What those women intend to do is to change the machine, not the law."

Right here Mrs. Upton upset an old tradition. She stated that she had found men more easily swayed by emotion and frothy things than women, more governed by sentiment. "Get up in meeting," she declared, "and talk about home and mother and you'll have every man crying.

"And men are more casual than women," she went on, "more accustomed to gambling and to making snap judgments. In business they form the habit of thinking quickly. They *think* they are going to come out a certain way. But women have to *know*. They don't trust to luck; they have to have their plans laid out much more carefully than men and see further ahead. Women go slower and more cautiously and have a certain kind of sound judgment hitched to their conserving and protecting natures that is going to be a valuable asset in politics."

Both the Democratic and Republican women leaders expressed disappointment that of the three women elected to Congress not one was re-elected, and that the Sixty-eighth Congress will find but one woman—Mrs. Nolan—sitting with the National lawmakers. But they point to the hundreds of women elected to Legislatures as to which way the political winds are blowing.

Says Mrs. Blair: "Women gained even in defeat in the last Congressional election, when there were eighteen women candidates for Congress. It will be easier going next time. That is why we want women to run for Congress, so that there will be less handicap when a strong and worthy woman appears as candidate for any public office."

Mrs. Upton, Republican leader, says: "We can't expect to start from the top in this political game any more than the men do. A perusal of the Congressional Directory will show that most of the men doing our business on the hill started as lawyers and district attorneys, and served in the State Legislatures and in other minor capacities before they came to Washington.

"The political power of women will continue to develop, and the more gradual the growth, the more stable it will be."

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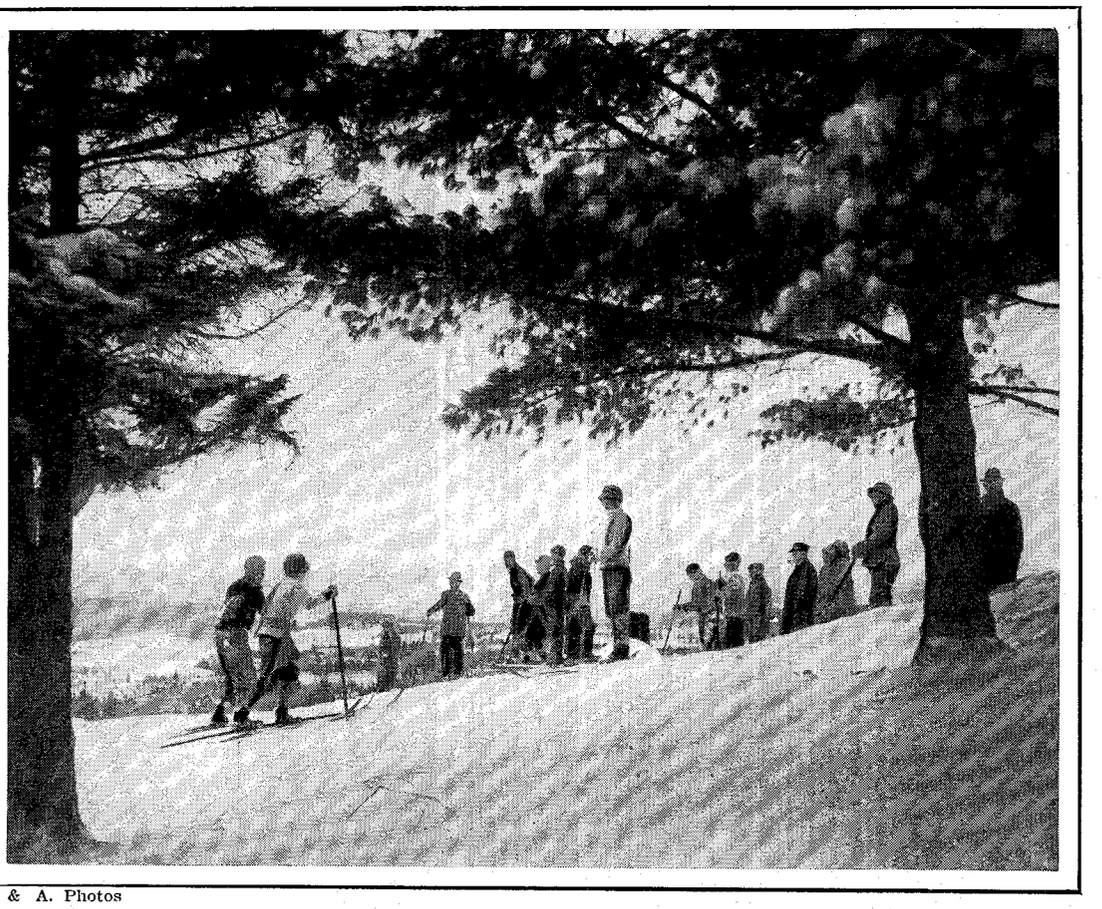
Making the Best of a Mild Winter

Ski Hill, near Lake Placid, New York

presents this animated scene on any bright winter day, with visitors from all parts of the country coming to enjoy the exhilarating air and the varied sports that Lake Placid offers. Near New York a speculative-minded hotel keeper imported snow from the Adirondacks in order to stage a ski-jumping contest. Eight carloads of melting snowflakes barely sufficed to keep the ski-jumpers out of the mud



P. & A. Photos

Wide World Photos

Newburgh, New York, has Ice but no Snow

This picture shows young women skaters who competed for the Middle Atlantic outdoor skating contest. Left to right: Caroline M. Breiter, of Bronxville, N. Y.; Alice Heiser, of New York City; Peggy Conaty, of the 181st Street Ice Skating Palace, New York City; Kathleen McRae, of Toronto, Canada; Dorothy V. Jackson, and Elsie C. Muller, both of the Iceland Rink, New York City. Miss Muller won the championship

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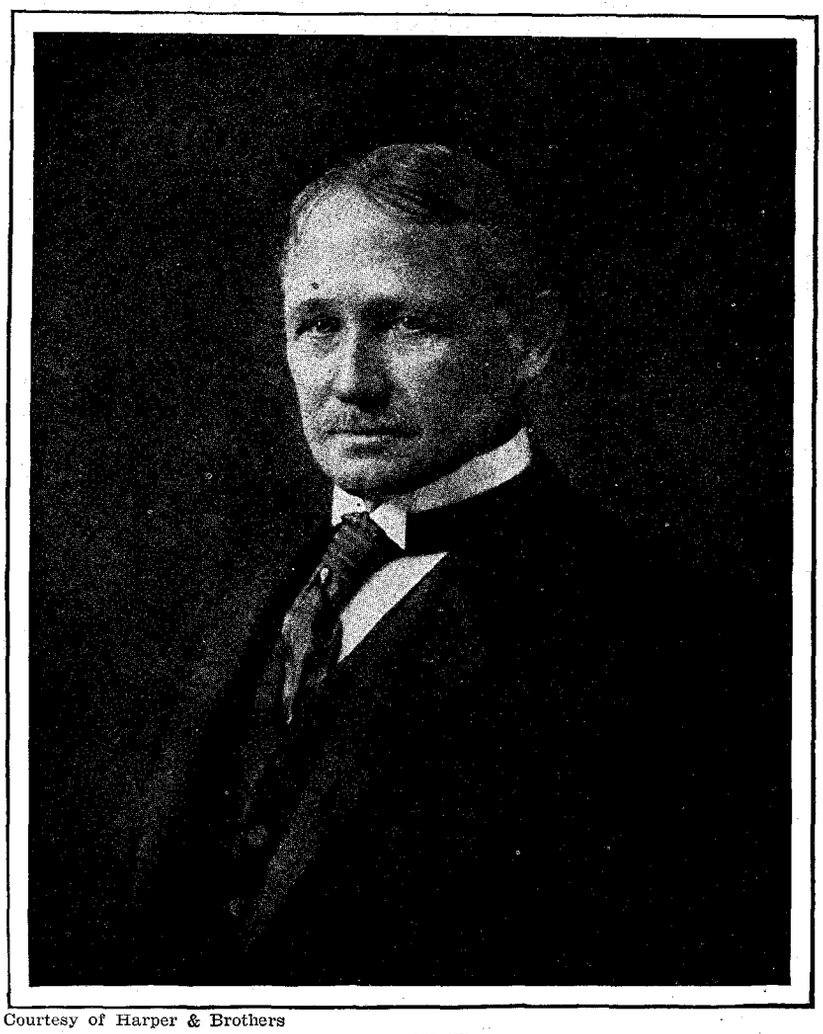
The Book Table

The Father of Scientific Management[1]

By Edward Eyre Hunt



Courtesy of Harper & Brothers

Frederick W. Taylor

THE appearance in two volumes of Frank B. Copley's "Life of Frederick W. Taylor, Father of Scientific Management," is an event. Frederick W. Taylor was one of the great figures of our time, and his published life will help the public to become aware of that fact. His ancestry and boyhood, his work at Midvale in the '80s, his activities as consulting engineer in management, his achievements at Bethlehem in the late '90s, his influence on the American army and navy, and his other public services are graphically traced.

The origins of scientific management, better known abroad as the Taylor System, are described in terms which every one can understand. There was nothing theoretical about Taylor: he was a mechanical engineer, but first he was a shop manager confronted with concrete problems, and his system of management, built at first piecemeal, was the scientific solution of his problems. It was a successful effort to give the machine shop a brain commensurate with its size instead of leaving it, like the prehistoric megatherium, with an elephantine body and a peanut intelligence. Functional foremanship, one of his great discoveries, was a gradual development—what detractors like to call an "accident." His differential wage system was another development. Time study with the use of the stop-watch, which caught the public fancy in 1911, was only one of a number of his management devices. He was the first to bring the scientific spirit completely to bear upon the problems of managing men and materials.

What might be called collateral results of his shop systematizing, such as the great discovery of high-speed steel—a discovery which made possible the cutting of metals at such speed and temperature that the nose of the tool burned a dull red and threw off bright blue chips; his work with Barth on slide rules; his picturesque experiments in growing synthetic golf greens; his method of removing full-grown trees and plants such as the famous avenue of old box planted in Germantown by du Barry in 1803, or the fifty-year-old wisteria which he transplanted while in full bloom; even his startling inventions of golf clubs, such as his fork-armed putter, filed mashie, and extra long driver, together with his spoon-handled tennis racquet (he was a good golfer and held the National tennis championship one year)—all are given their proper place in the story.

Taylor was a co-operator. His use of the editorial "we" in describing his work was deliberate, for the revolutionary results which he achieved were due in large part to his ability to inspire groups of co-workers, among them such outstanding figures as Barth, Gantt, Hathaway, Thompson, and Cooke.

It is not, I think, a superficial resemblance which Mr. Copley traces between Frederick W. Taylor and that other eminent Philadelphian, Benjamin Franklin. But I felt, as I read this life, a more than passing resemblance to another great American, not in the field of his achievements, but in the force of character which brought them into being: the self-confidence, the strenuous courage, the belief that to do less than one's best is a social crime, the faculty of inspiring others to effort, the prompt and voluble acknowledgment of the achievement of others, the delight in battle for a good cause, and the very human feeling that "he who is not with me is against me"—surely here there is a resemblance to Theodore Roosevelt. And there was something Rooseveltian in the manner of his death. "About half-past four the next morning he was heard to wind his watch. It was an unusual hour, but nothing was thought of it. Not until half an hour later did the nurse enter the room, to find that he had died there alone."

In Soviet Russia, in France, in Germany, in Great Britain, in Japan where Barth had just gone, and in engineering circles in America the Taylor system is

[1] The Life of Frederick W. Taylor. In two volumes. By Frank B. Copley. Harper & Brothers, New York. $10.

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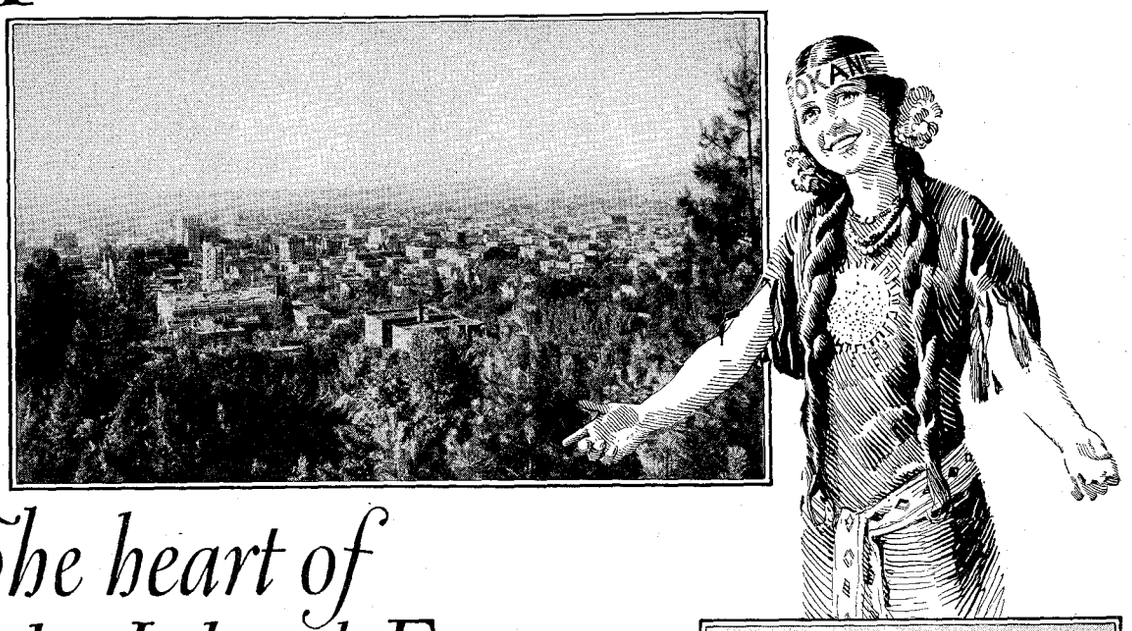
Spokane



The heart of the Inland Empire

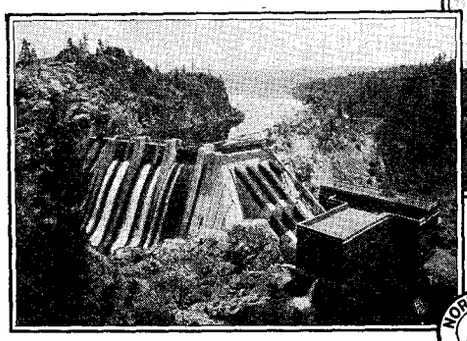
FINANCIAL and commercial capital of an Inland Empire larger than the whole of France—an empire richest in natural resources of any territory its size in the Western Hemisphere. This is Spokane!

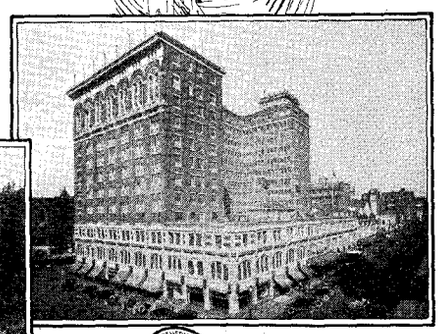
Forty years ago it was a half dozen pioneer homes scattered along the banks of a river. Today it is a metropolitan city of 120,000, served by six trans-continental railroads, and dominating a trade area with a population of 1,500,000.

This is Spokane. But its swift growth and large opportunities are typical not of Spokane alone. These you will find in *all* of the scores of thriving prosperous cities that dot the Pacific Northwest.

For these are cities young, energetic, growing industrially and commercially with a swiftness that spells OPPORTUNITY—the greatest opportunity offered by any section of the country today. Back of each of them is the rapid, deep-rooted development and illimitable natural wealth of a vast empire comprising the five states of Washington, Oregon, Idaho, Montana and Wyoming—the Pacific Northwest. It is growing in recent decades, five times as fast as the nation. It is almost boundlessly rich in millions of fertile acres, timber, water power, minerals, fisheries. *And its future is the future of its cities.*

These are cities in which to work and be sure of rich rewards. But they are also better and finer places in which to live. Schools, colleges, churches, homes, hospitals, theaters, libraries—these and all things else





(Top)—*A view of Spokane's business district. (Photo by Curtis)*
(Above)—*The famous Davenport Hotel, Spokane. (Photo by Libby)*
(Left)—*Long Lake power plant near Spokane. (Photo by Curtis)*

their builders have made not "just as good," but *better* than they knew "back east." Nothing old, nothing out of date. Everything the latest, the most modern, the best.

And nature has done the rest! For here indeed is beauty that all the world cannot surpass—grandeur of mountains, streams, lakes, wild flowers and the blue charm of the Pacific. And here is a glorious climate—so mild in some sections that roses bloom the year around. A climate that has made the Pacific Northwest the healthiest group of states in the country.

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A letter to any of the officials listed below will bring you additional interesting information about the Pacific Northwest in general, or about any particular phase of it; mention any subject in which you are especially interested.

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The Chicago Burlington & Quincy R.R.
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Chamber of Commerce,
James A. Ford, Mng. Sec.,
Spokane, Washington.

Dear Sir: Please send me additional information about the city of Spokane.

Name.....

Address.....

City.....*State*.....

Outlook—Jan. 23

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looked on as one of the most significant developments of modern life.

But Taylor's purpose was not simply to invent novel mechanisms. He was inspired throughout by a high type of social idealism. He was a scientific revolutionary. He worked to bring about a new world, a world in which knowledge shall reign, in which each man and woman shall be trained for his task, in which each shall do his best, and in which each shall be rewarded according to his work, in order that all the powers of men and of nature shall be released for human happiness.

In any American pantheon there ought to be a commemorative tablet to the life and work of Frederick W. Taylor.

The New Books

BOOKS FOR YOUNG FOLKS

FRANCONIA STORIES. By Jacob Abbott. Edited by Margaret Armstrong. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. $2.50.

The name of Jacob Abbott, the author of the Rollo Books, was known to thousands of readers fifty years ago. Some of his voluminous writing has become archaic, but some of it is perennially fresh and deserves a place, as even so exacting a critic as Barrett Wendell has somewhere said, in the list of American classics. Among his books for children that may be read to-day with pleasure are the Franconia Stories. Miss Margaret Armstrong has edited them with appreciation and good judgment and has condensed them into one volume which has been charmingly illustrated by Miss Helen Maitland Armstrong. The result is a book which we discovered the other day being read, if surreptitiously at any rate with interest, by a "regular feller" of sixteen. What more could the author, who died nearly a half century ago, ask of the editors and publishers who have so sympathetically revived his work?

FICTION

TOYS. By H. H. The Ranee of Sarawak (Sylvia Brett). E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. $2.50.

This is described by the publishers as "a story of East and West and of strong psychological interest." The title is of course figurative, for the author looks upon the world as a toyshop and the people in it as toys. The idea is carried out by treating the different "toys" in separate tales, with a prologue which indicates the general plan and purpose. The author has strongly in mind the wish that her readers would in the world of imagination and human nature lay aside prejudice of race or color, as those, she says, are but the dresses of the toys.

POETRY

HARP-WEAVER (THE), AND OTHER POEMS. By Edna St. Vincent Millay. Harper & Brothers, New York. $2.

The presence of authentic poetic values is sufficient to explain the high place in responsible critical judgment that Miss Millay's work has taken. Its popularity, its appeal to "the general" as well, may be attributed—among other things—to the variety of theme and treatment, plus a certain engaging flair. Her poetry, in other words, is generally authentic, it is various, and it is never dull. This latest collection offers an instance of all this between its covers, and represents Miss Millay accurately and broadly, if not always at her best. There are no poems of the combined lyrical and philosophic sweep of "Renascence," nor any of the poignancy of some of the lyrics in "Second April" and "A Few Figs From Thistles;" but there are poems of profound significance, such as the now famous Euclid sonnet, and lyrics of a sharp appeal, such as "Souvenir," "Keen," and "The Pond." Here is a various genius, served by a competent versatility. Miss Millay has a broad and deep wisdom of mood and emotion, and a gift to render that wisdom lyrical and rememberable. The delicate and transient, the playful and the amusedly bitter—all with their swift and surprising changes—are as successfully communicated as the profoundly moving emotions. The title poem in this collection is a ballad of tragedy, the tragic sense of which is heightened by an ingenuous and half-whimsical telling. The book, which runs to less than one hundred pages, is good reading throughout, and something more than this in many places.

TRAVEL AND DESCRIPTION

NATURE IN DOWNLAND. By W. H. Hudson. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. $3.

The appreciation of Mr. Hudson's quiet imaginative writing has perceptibly increased since his recent death. Here he again leisurely and most agreeably talks of out-of-door nature as seen in England, dealing in this case specifically with the southern range of chalk hills in England known as the Downs.

MISCELLANEOUS

COLLECTOR'S WHATNOT (THE). By Cornelius Obenchain Van Loot. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston. $2.50.

This burlesque upon the collectors of furniture and antiquities is, on the whole, an amusing book. It is hard to keep up a burlesque and be funny throughout a volume, but this one stands the test at almost any point. Such works are most enjoyable when read in sections, and so the essays of Mr. "Van Loot," assisted by various other persons with absurd names and titles, may be taken one or two at a time. Mr. Eben Twitchett writes on "Antiqueing Ahead;" Cecilia Prynne has some funny dialogues to show the best method of buying antiquities from the "natives;" Dr. Kilgallen discusses old brass, old rugs, old iron, and almost everything else that is old; Professor Elphinstone, lecturer on "scroll-work and frets," contributes an essay on his specialty; while Augustula Thomas adds "A Word on Pooning." The advertisements at the end are worth careful reading, and the illustrations are excellent, especially the statue of Professor Kilgallen. Some of the parody is obvious; other sections are so grave as to make it certain that a few innocent souls may be deceived by the book and write to the authors or publishers for an explanation of the more preposterous statements. But we must certainly take exception to the claim of Professor Kilgallen to "the largest collection of wormholes in the world." That is surely excessive for any private collector, considering the great public collections of these interesting objects.

Books Received

FICTION

ROBERT GREGORY. By John Owen. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. $2.

SOMETIMES. By Olive Wadsley. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York. $2.

SPELL OF SIRIS (THE). By Muriel Hine, Dodd, Mead & Co., New York. $2.

WEEK (A). By Iury Libedinsky. Translated by Arthur Ransome. B. W. Huebsch, New York. $1.50.

BIOGRAPHY

BEGINNING AGAIN AT ARARAT. By Mabel E. Elliott, M.D. The Fleming H. Revell Company, New York. $2.

HISTORY AND POLITICAL ECONOMY

HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL LEGENDS. By W. D. Westervelt. The Fleming H. Revell Company, New York. $1.50.

POETRY

POEMS OF WILLIAM WORDSWORTH. Edited by George McLean Harper. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $1.

NEGRO POETS AND THEIR POEMS. By Robert Thomas Kerlin. The Associated Publishers, Washington, D. C. $1.65.

BEYOND THE SKYLINE. By C. Edward Cone. Boullion-Biggs, New York. $1.50.

VICTORY, AND OTHER VERSE. By Elmer Ellsworth Brown. The Century Company, New York.

RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

SEEING LIFE WHOLE. By Henry Churchill King. The Macmillan Company, New York. $1.50.

FAMOUS FIGURES OF THE OLD TESTAMENT. By William Jennings Bryan. The Fleming H. Revell Company, New York. $1.50.

STUDIES IN BIBLICAL AND SEMITIC SYMBOLISM. By Maurice H. Farbridge. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. $4.50.

MISCELLANEOUS

LAW VERSUS LAWLESSNESS. Citizenship Conference Addresses. Edited by Fred B. Smith. The Fleming H. Revell Company, New York. $1.

PROGRESSIVE READINGS IN PROSE. By R. W. Chamberlain and Joseph S. G. Bolton. Doubleday, Page & Co., New York. $2.

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Residential hotel of highest type, combining the facilities of hotel life with the comforts of an ideal home. American plan $4 per day and up. European plan $1.50 per day and up.
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Financial Department

The Financial Department is prepared to furnish information regarding standard investment securities, but cannot undertake to *advise* the purchase of any specific security. It will give to inquirers facts of record or information resulting from expert investigation, and a nominal charge of one dollar per inquiry will be made for this special service. All letters of inquiry should be addressed to THE OUTLOOK FINANCIAL DEPARTMENT, 381 Fourth Avenue, New York.

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inducements sufficiently strong to attract buyers. Otherwise the sale does not go through, and the necessary funds are not obtained. If the sale does go through, the seller is benefited because he gets the money necessary to his business, and the buyer too is benefited because his money has been put to work in a safe place and at a good rate of interest.

The common method of procedure for a corporation in need of new capital is to go to a banker, or group of bankers, and make arrangements for the sale of a stock or bond issue. The banker becomes the underwriter, and his house, or a group of banking houses, buys the entire issue of securities and gives the corporation the money. The bankers, in turn, through their sales organizations sell the securities to their clients, and aim to make a profit on the transaction. They are entitled to a profit, of course, for without their services the borrower could not negotiate the loan, and his business would suffer. In the early days, when comparatively small sums were required for the business enterprises then in existence, it used to be possible to borrow from a small group of men all the money that was necessary. These days are past. Business in this modern world is constantly in need of such enormous sums that it takes hundreds and thousands of people to supply them, and only large and highly organized banking concerns can reach these people. Another result of this situation is that more people own securities than ever before, and wealth is more widely distributed than formerly. This means that the number of capitalists in the world is steadily increasing, for every owner of a bond or a share of stock is a capitalist.

This state of affairs is undoubtedly a good thing for the world, for capital is essential to all material progress. No one can deny that the standard of living of all classes has risen immeasurably, and this rise could not have taken place without the intelligent employment of capital. Of what value is a mountain full of coal unless the coal can be mined? A man may have a vast reservoir of oil under his farm, but unless it can be brought to the surface and sold it is worth nothing to anybody. There may be a gold mine under your garage, but unless the gold is mined it has no real value. To mine the coal and the gold and to drill a well for the oil requires money—capital, in other words. If capital is available, the right kind of machinery can be purchased, men can be hired to work, and nature's storehouse opened up so that her treasures may be used for the benefit of mankind. Hence it comes about that the man who borrows money for a useful purpose is a real public benefactor. Think of the people to whom he gives employment and the families he helps to support. If he buys machinery, he gives work to some factory and its employees; if he builds buildings, he furnishes work to another class of citizens; in carrying on his own enterprise he employs still more; in shipping his products and in buying his raw material he gives work to still others; and so it goes through every kind of business and into every level of society, a material good permeating the lives of untold numbers of human beings. The man who supplies the money is also a sharer in the credit for all the good that is done, for without him it would have been impossible of accomplishment. And the man who supplies the money is the investor, large or small—you or I perhaps—and he not only helps others but does himself the most good of all. A man with investments—capital, that is—is on the road to independence: he has power denied the man devoid of savings: his mind is freed from worry, and achievements are possible to him that it would be folly for any one else even to consider.

Money may be the root of all evil, but no tree ever grew very tall without roots. As an example, the lack of money, or of capital, is the greatest obstacle in the path of Europe to-day; Europe shot away its capital, invested it in a war which proved to be a very bad financial investment, and its money is gone. It has no money to work with, and as a consequence it cannot do the work which is so essential to its own well-being and to the peace and well-being of the other nations of the world. Without capital and the means to keep the wheels of its industries turning unemployment is common, production is low, and hardships result. Production is the solution of the high cost of living and many other present-day ills. The more there is produced, the more there is to share, and the standard of living automatically goes up. Money in itself is worth nothing, but acquires value only when it may be exchanged for something else, and the point is to produce that "something else" and in quantity sufficient to bring it within the reach of the man with little money. Capital is necessary before there can be production, and the investor who supplies the capital is one of the most useful of citizens. Money was made to work; the man who puts his money to work contributes a great deal to the

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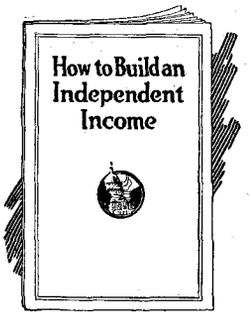

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He Came 2,000 Miles For a Good Investment

Up in New York State an old gentleman died the other day, leaving a fortune running well into six figures. The amount was surprising, for he was conservative and shunned speculation. He belonged to the old school that prefers a first mortgage on real estate.

This man, an extremely good judge of values, was one of this firm's first customers. Years ago, on a visit to Florida, he bought a Miami mortgage from us, and year after year thereafter he was a steady and liberal buyer. He did not hesitate to invest 2,000 miles from home, because he found in Miller first mortgage securities the two essentials—safety and a good rate of interest.

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progress of the world, but the man who squanders his money is just as truly an obstacle.

Of course the person who buys stocks and bonds does not have many thoughts about bettering mankind. He buys for his own betterment and protection, and for the betterment and protection of those dependent upon him. Every prudent person carries fire insurance upon his house and his household goods; not every prudent person saves money and invests it for the safeguarding of himself and family, however. Most people would resent any insinuation that they cared more for their house or their car than they do about their families, and yet it seems fairly safe to say that more men consider the protection of these material things than providing something for the human beings dependent upon them. Further, it is an inescapable fact that as old age encroaches upon us our earning power declines. Why not invest for old age, then, if a selfish incentive is necessary? Most people are ambitious for their children. Why not save and invest money for their education if there is any question about being able to provide for it otherwise? It is as true of investing as it is of almost every other pursuit that the sooner one starts it, the better success he is liable to have. But it is never too late to begin, and it is well to bear in mind that as people advance in years they are more and more dependent upon money and the things that money will buy.

In answer to the question, therefore, "Why buy securities?" there are briefly the following reasons:

By supplying capital to useful enterprise the investor aids progress, stimulates production, raises the standard of living, and furnishes employment for many people.

By investing in sound securities a man adds to his own power, increases his independence, safeguards his family and his old age, and contributes his share to the welfare of the world.

It is well, of course, to use due care in the selection of investments, and choosing the proper security is not a thing to be done in a hurry. We heard a man say one time that he believed it never paid to run after a girl or a trolley car, because another one would come along in just a minute. This advice might well apply to investments also.

My Income

[A subscriber to The Outlook, whose name we know but for reasons at once obvious must be kept confidential, sends us the following. We can assure our readers that his case is not an imaginary but an actual one. What he writes has very direct bearing upon Mr. Mellon's proposal for tax reduction.—THE EDITORS.]

My income averages around $125,000 a year. I notice that—

In 1920 my tax-exempt interest received was about $9,000.

In 1922 my tax-exempt interest received was about $28,000.

Naturally, I paid Uncle Sam considerably less taxes in 1922 than in 1920, just because I switched some of my investments to tax-exempt bonds.

A big argument is going on just now between Mr. Mellon and Mr. Congressman on how to make me pay more tax.

I am no innocent bystander; not on your life.

No one is looking out for me but myself.

I can see that if Secretary Mellon has his way, and tax-free securities are abolished, I will have to come across sooner or later; but if that is not done, I can continue to sit under the exemption umbrella.

But as I now sit under this protection, I am to that extent not very active. Mr. Mellon thinks he can coax me out from under it with lower income taxes, so that I will not care so much for that umbrella. Mr. La Follette threatens to drive me out with a deluge—so I gather from a lot of talk—but I haven't heard any real plan.

Frankly, Mr. Mellon is the only man who is likely to reach me.

At present I receive about 4½ per cent on my tax-exempt bonds. If I pay a tax, say, of 40 per cent on income from *other bonds,* those bonds must yield me a much higher rate of interest, but those bonds would not be safe. If I only had to pay 25 per cent tax, I could buy bonds that might be safe.

I have read a lot about Mellon, Munsey, and other large-income men working for their own pocketbooks. Perhaps they are. What are all the other people in the United States doing? Is it a crime to stand for reduced taxes locally? Perhaps they own properties which make a good profit one year and a loss the next. Uncle Sam shares their profits now up to 50 per cent, but they carry their losses alone.

I do not say that high income taxes drive many people out of active business into tax-exempt securities; but the absorption of twelve billions of such securities in recent years speaks for itself. I happen to know, however, that high income taxes increase the cost of goods, increase the cost of service, increase the cost of living. All expenses are charged against the cost of goods before the selling price is made.

A word about the bonus. I have about made up my mind that the United States will not escape the raids on treasuries which have been so popular and disastrous in Europe.

The bonus men are politically strong. So are the farmers and the unions. Separately they might not actually force our

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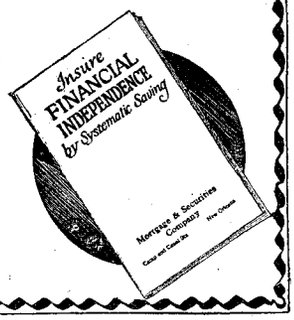

Are You An Investor?

During the past year the Financial Editor of The Outlook has helped hundreds of Outlook readers to solve intelligently their particular investment problems. Perhaps you are contemplating a shifting of your present holdings or have fresh funds to invest. In either case we shall be glad to give you specific information on any securities in which you may be interested. A nominal charge of one dollar per inquiry will be made for this special service.

The Outlook Financial Department
THE OUTLOOK COMPANY
381 Fourth Avenue New York City

Congress to issue bonds and give the proceeds to them; but together they are quite likely to succeed. If so, there will be some good times while the money is being spent. The financial storms will follow very soon, as in Europe, with the middle classes the greatest sufferers; but Mellon, Munsey, Rockefeller, and I will have our forces sufficiently diversified to protect us. Who profited in Germany by the bonuses of the great inflation? Why, Stinnes and Thyssen and Krupp, of course. Who lost? Why, the men who received the bonuses and along with them about ninety-nine per cent of the rest.

It is no breach of confidence to tell you that when Congress nearly passed the bonus over the veto of President Harding I commenced making investments, expecting it to come later. These investments, I believe, will make money for me just because of the bonus, and will offset losses which I must have along with other people. I do not want any bonus storm, but if it comes I have a lifeboat stocked with provisions for some time. Capitalists deal in lifeboats and provisions.

A capitalist is a forward-seeing, forward-planning man. When the weather is fair, he embarks freely in many enterprises. He works hard to make money; but as long as he keeps active other people get the principal product of his work. If he sees storms coming, he will carefully place an anchor to protect him against one danger (a bonus), and another to protect him against another danger (excessive taxes).

I believe the capitalist needs to be thoroughly watched, and frequently restrained by law. He is a good servant, but a hard master. I would not like to see him killed and eaten raw, as some seemingly would. He is a pilot who knows the channel. Abuse him if you want to, but feed him reasonably well. It takes a strong arm and a good memory to steer some craft in these days.

I do not think capitalists are very different from most men. I am in favor of abolishing tax-exempt securities. I am in favor of publishing income taxes. I would have no objection to signing my name to this article, but the discussion might degenerate to personalities; and then it might also distract just a little bit from the Bok publicity campaign, and that needs the whole stage if it is to land us in the League of Nations.

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Building Activity Next Spring

Will there be increased building activity next spring with high or even higher construction costs than now prevail? Or do we face a period of general contraction in the building industry with somewhat lower costs for both labor and materials?

A recent Weekly Letter of the Harvard Economic Service presents an analysis, based upon an exhaustive study of building statistics, of the probable range of activity and level of prices in the building industry during the coming months.

You can secure a copy of this report, without obligation, by addressing

HARVARD ECONOMIC SERVICE

27 Abbot Building
Harvard University
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By the Way

In the concert hall of the Seamen's Church Institute of New York City a motley crowd of Scandinavians, Englishmen, Slavs, Italians, Americans, and Negroes were singing at the top of their lungs. They had sung with some fervor before, when the words of familiar songs were flashed on the screen, but this was the song that really stirred them to enthusiasm:

Not here, not there, it's fifty miles from nowhere, but it's my home town.
Not here, not there, but I'm all set to go there,
So I'll make a break and take a look in the mirror.
Where's my hat? Where's my coat? Where's my leather bag?
Send my trunk to the place written on the tag.
Not here, not there, it's fifty miles from nowhere, but it's my home town.

"As you see," says "The Lookout" of the Institute, "this is pretty bad poetry and the music was hardly better; but as these men from the far corners of the earth sang about their home town with that curious ring in their voices it almost brought tears to the eyes. A universal note had been struck."

Charlie Chaplin is brought to mind by a first reading of this passage in a letter about the plight of an East Indian family published in "Navayuga," a native Indian paper printed in English. The italics are ours:

What shall we do in our sad plight? We are helpless. Do not lose your domiciled rights. It has squeezed our blood. *We are without a pie in hand now.*

A pie, it seems, is an Indian coin worth only a fraction of a pice, which is itself worth less than a cent.

The deepest hole in the earth, according to the "Scientific American," is a gold mine in the State of Minas Geraes in Brazil. The mine is now 6,726 feet below the surface at the top of the shaft through which it is entered. But the Tamarack No. 5 copper mine, in the Lake Superior region of the United States, goes nearest to the center of the earth. This is because the Tamarack mine starts in a country whose level is not far above the sea, while the Brazilian mine is in a mountainous region nearly 3,000 feet above sea level.

Some Russian noblemen are having almost as hard a time in America as in their native land. Said one of them, formerly one of the richest landowners in Russia, after a day spent in a futile hunt for a job, as reported in "Our World:"

"I visited a dozen places, selected from 'ads' in a morning newspaper. I was either too late or too early. It was either 'Too much of a gentleman for such work,' or 'Sorry, but we need a man of more imposing appearance.' I glanced again at the newspaper on my way home. A little 'ad' attracted my attention: 'Wanted, for adoption, a child.' By Jove, to-morrow, unless I find a job, I shall look up this party!"

"Have you ever noticed," says an observant hardware merchant in the "Hardware Age," "how prosperous, as a general rule, church-going people are? You may think that such people are dull. They may not be entertaining, but it is surprising how the general average of religious people, no matter what denomination, prosper in life. There are reasons for this. Church-going people have formed habits of living that make them very efficient workers and they do not waste what they accumulate."

Is "speeding" a disease, incurable except by severe treatment? A Philadelphia traffic officer seems to believe so, according to the "Public Ledger" of that city. A man drove into an iron railing near a railway tunnel and fell with his car and five passengers thirty-five feet to the tracks below. All were killed. The driver had been called to account only four days before by a policeman for driving at forty miles an hour on Girard Avenue. "He pleaded so hard," said the officer, "that I let him off. I am sorry now that I did not arrest him, for if I had, all those six victims would be alive to-day."

From a group of four Indian Poems by Eda Lou Walton published in "Laughing Horse," of Santa Fé, New Mexico:

MEDICINE DANCE

The wind is my medicine,
It blows away the stones
From my head.
The rain is my medicine,
It waters my weak bones
Stretched in bed.
My horse is my medicine,
And when I ride
His beating energy
Thrills me inside.

From the "Yale Record:"

"O Jackie! Listen to that marvelous jazz!"

"Why, that's a classical number they're playing."

"Well, it sounds good enough to be jazz!"

[*Advertisement*]

PATRIOTISM IS NOT A COMMODITY TO BE BOUGHT AND SOLD

THE Ex-Service Men's Anti-Bonus League believes that the demand for a bonus or adjusted compensation is not a demand backed by a majority of World War veterans. The League differs fundamentally with all of those who seek a Government dole for patriotic service performed in time of war.

It holds that "paid in full" is a phrase that cannot properly be written across a World War veteran's honorable discharge. The Ex-Service Men's Anti-Bonus League believes that to write into our laws the principle that the service of a soldier can be properly compensated on a wage basis imperils a national tradition of service that should be held sacred.

At the present time, the Ex-Service Men's Anti-Bonus League is the only organization through which World War veterans who oppose the bonus plea can register their effective opposition. The business of the League is to place World War veterans who actually do oppose the bonus proposition on record to that effect.

If you are a World War veteran and are opposed to the bonus, fill out the attached coupon and mail it to

THE EX-SERVICE MEN'S ANTI-BONUS LEAGUE
National Headquarters
Wilkins Building,
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"FOR THE DISABLED, EVERYTHING—FOR THE ABLE-BODIED, NOTHING"

Date.....1923

To the Ex-Service Men's Anti-Bonus League,
National Headquarters,
Wilkins Building, Washington, D. C.

Although I am whole-heartedly in favor of legislation which will provide in the most liberal manner for the generous care and compensation of every disabled World War veteran, I am strongly opposed, as a matter of principle and good citizenship, to the granting of a Federal bonus to able-bodied ex-service men. I therefore wish to be enrolled as a member of The Ex-Service Men's Anti-Bonus League.

My war service was with.....

My first grade or rank was.....

My full name is.....

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